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INDIA

A Record and Review of Indian Affairs

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Indiana.

The Famine.

In one of Voltaire's tales we read how the King of Babylon cured a great satrap of overweening self-satisfaction by causing a full chorus and orchestra to perform every morning in the satrap's chamber a cantata, lasting two hours, in his honour. Every third minute came this refrain:—

> "Que son mérite est extrême !
> Que de grâces ! que de grandeur !
> Ah ! combien Monseigneur
> Doit être content de lui-même !"

Mr. Frederic Harrison somewhere says that the nineteenth century is being treated in much the same fashion by the press and its other public admirers. The Government of India is certainly undergoing this treatment—but with the unfortunate difference that while too copious laudation cured Irax, it only makes the Government of India worse. Thus even the telegrams about the Indian famine which have reached London have produced what Mr. Matthew Arnold would have called "a flight of Corinthian leading articles and an irruption of Mr. G. A. Sala" in honour of the Government of India. The young lions of the *Daily Telegraph*, for example, dismissed on December 23rd in a florid column the suggestion that the relief work of the Government of India needed to be supplemented by private charity. The occasion was employed for a full chorus and orchestra in honour of—

> "the mighty power, the fearless fidelity, and the enormous credit of the Queen's Administration, which has solemnly taken upon itself in the past to fight these campaigns of redemption, and which can do it, and must do it, and will do it, and is now doing it, in the only manner truly efficacious. The Queen's Government saves up money against the famine as Germany and Russia and France accumulate it in their military chests. It has its famine funds, its famine bureaux, its famine machinery always ready; and by the public works carried out it makes each visitation provide more and more against those which must follow. If three millions, or five millions, or ten, or twenty are necessary to save the lives which can be saved, the Queen's Government in India will find and expend that money; and is bound to find and expend it."

In other words:

> "Que son mérite est extrême !
> Que de grâces ! que de grandeur !"

Not a word here, it will be noticed, about the extreme poverty of the mass of the Indian people—poverty which the people themselves ascribe largely to the excessive cost, and especially the military extravagance, of the "Queen's Government"; not a word to suggest that any millions which the "Queen's Government" may find and expend will have been squeezed out of these same indigent peasants by another twist of the taxgatherer's screw; not a word to recognise that even of the special taxes so levied to meet the horrors of famine much has been diverted into the "military chest," and some actually used to increase the salaries of the "Queen's Government." No, the readers of the *Daily Telegraph* are presented with a fancy picture showing a powerful, fearless, provident, and charitable Government of India jealously saving up its money against famine,

while the wicked Germans and Russians (what a happy thought to drag in the Russians!) can think only of costly militarism.

> "Ah! combien Monseigneur
> Doit être content de lui-même!"

"The Shadow of a Great Calamity."

IT will, no doubt, be said that the fustian of the *Daily Telegraph* does not matter. Unfortunately, however, there is only too much reason to fear that its sublime, not to say ridiculous, cheerfulness accurately reflects the sentiments of that important and frequent personage, the man in the street. Yet there is little enough in recent news from India to warrant this optimism. We summarise on another page the telegrams which have been received and, at the same time, attempt to indicate the direction of public opinion in India. It will be seen that departmental complacency once more finds little justification among impartial observers. Even Sir A. Mackenzie, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, is reported to have said the other day:

> "I feel that we are, as a Government, standing under the approaching shadow of a great calamity. If no rain falls this month, Behar and not a few tracts in Bengal will have to be added to the weekly growing area within which famine is practically certain, and when it comes, unless all the signs mislead us, it will be, I fear, the greatest famine of the century."

We may supplement Sir A. Mackenzie's grave words with the following telegram dated Calcutta, December 25th, and printed in the *Times* of December 26th:—

> "The Calcutta *Englishman* publishes a powerful letter from Mr. John P. Goodridge, late Divisional Judge at Jabalpur, concerning the state of the Central Provinces, where famine exists in an acute form and where, according to Mr. Goodridge, thousands are dying daily. He says that as early as the month of September the mortality rate in the Jabalpur district was 97, in Saugor 98, in Damoh 138, and in Sihora 225, whereas during the severe famine of 1837-38 the rate for the whole province did not exceed 95. Mr. Goodridge declares that the famine has got beyond control, and that the Government arrangements are inadequate to cope with it. He urges the opening of public subscriptions."

In view of this appalling condition of affairs, would not Lord George Hamilton do well to reconsider his replies to the Lord Mayor and to the Lancashire cotton-spinners?

The Twelfth Congress.

THE twelfth Session of the Indian National Congress is announced to be held at Calcutta on December 28th and following days, under the presidency of Mr. Rahimtula Muhammad Sayani, a distinguished Muhammadan citizen of Bombay, who has twice been Sheriff of that city, and is a member both of the Bombay Legislative Council and of the Imperial Legislative Council. Writing, as we are compelled to do, before the Congress meets, we have not the text of the resolutions before us. But, if we may judge from the circular letter recently issued by the Reception Committee to the secretaries of the various Standing Committees throughout India, it seems probable that the following will be the leading topics:—

(1) Congratulations to Her Majesty on having completed the sixtieth year of her reign.
(2) Constitution of the Congress.
(3) Scarcity throughout India and the necessity of restoring the Famine Insurance Fund to its original position.
(4) Readjustment of Provincial Contracts and better terms to the various Provinces.
(5) The poverty of India.
(6) Separation of Judicial and Executive functions.
(7) Simultaneous Examinations.
(8) University reform.
(9) Reorganisation of Education Service, which virtually excludes natives of India from the higher grades.
(10) Legislative Councils, constitution and rules. Interpellation and the right of dividing the Council on any question arising out of the Budget.
(11) Jury question.
(12) Medical Service.
(13) Indians in South Africa.

In addition to resolutions on these subjects, there will, we take it, be an omnibus resolution affirming the opinions of previous Congresses on matters which time will not permit to be discussed in much detail; and we shall not be surprised if further resolutions call attention (*a*) to the duty of Government in respect of the development of Indian industries, and (*b*) to the injustice of deposing Indian princes or chiefs unless they are condemned by a satisfactory public tribunal.

"Only slight Interest."

THE Calcutta correspondent of the *Times*, in a long telegram dated December 6th, said: "Preparations are being made for the annual meeting of the National Congress here, but only slight interest is being shown in the matter." Annual misrepresentation of this type has wearied everybody except its authors. The approaching Congress has filled the columns of the Indian papers, and there is every reason to expect that the numbers and the enthusiasm will at least reach the standard of last year when—in spite of the same gloomy, and false, vaticinations—more than 1,600 delegates and 4,000 visitors attended from all parts of India. Sir Richard Garth, in his famous article on the Congress which appeared in the *Law Magazine and Review* two years ago, asked what the supporters of the Congress had done to deserve the "choice invective" of bitter antagonists. Here is his own answer to his question:

> "I will tell you what they have done. They have dared to think for themselves; and not only for themselves but for the millions of poor ignorant people who compose our Indian Empire. They have been content to sacrifice their own

interests, and to brave the displeasure of Government, in order to lend a helping hand to those poor people.

"They have had the courage and the patriotism to denounce abuses which have disgraced our Indian rule for years past; which have been condemned by public opinion in India and in England, and to which the Indian Government appear to cling with a tenacity which seems utterly inexplicable. They have dared to propose reforms which, despite the resistance of the Government, have been approved by Parliament, and to endeavour to stay that fearful amount of extravagance which has been going on in India for years past, and has been the means, as some of our best and wisest counsellors consider, of bringing our Eastern Empire to the verge of bankruptcy.

"This is what these good men have done to deserve the taunts and insults of the member for Oxford city [the late Sir G. Chesney] and the relentless persecution of the Government of India."

"Compliments of the Season."

MR. A. O. HUME, in the article on "The Coming Congress" which he contributed to our last issue, regretted that the opposition to the Congress had disappeared, and that only here and there its ghost gibbered in the columns of some Anglo-Indian newspaper. The remark seems to have given pain to the *Times*, and its humble imitators, from the *Glasgow Herald* to the *St. James's Gazette*. At any rate, these magnanimous critics of the course of events lost no time in showing that they, too, still regard the Congress with the old feelings of envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness. To do them justice, the demonstration was unnecessary. In December, when preparations for the Congress are being made, we always look for a little abuse at their hands. It is "the compliments of the season"—to the Congress from its detractors. It amuses them, and, far from harming us, it is of the nature of a stimulus, and an advertisement. Indeed, we find it hard to express our gratitude in terms satisfactory to ourselves. On this occasion, however, the abuse was bungled. It lacked finish. Also—though this defect, no doubt, is less serious in the eyes of its authors—it took the form of an egregious *non sequitur*, purporting to be founded (so scrupulous is the gentlemanly party) upon a private and confidential circular. This circular, which was issued some months ago to the secretaries of the various Congress circles throughout India, stated the amount due in each case to the British Committee for copies of this journal, and—appalling as it may seem—requested payment. "He had felt some pride," said Mr. Pickwick—"he acknowledged it freely, and let his enemies make the most of it—he had felt some pride when he presented his Tittlebatian theory to the world." Some of our numerous subscribers, it is true, do not invariably pay their subscriptions in advance. We acknowledge it freely, and let our enemies make the most of it. If the *Times*, the *St. James's Gazette*, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and the *Glasgow Herald* have no debtors, they are to be congratulated upon a piece of good fortune which is, we imagine, rather rare among newspapers.

Bad Temper and Bad Logic.

BUT—and here is the delicious *non sequitur*—the *Times*, the *St. James's*, etc., having given all the publicity which their limited circulation enabled them to give to the grave fact that some of our subscriptions remain to be paid, proceeded to deduce from it the large and gratuitous assumption that the Congress is "an essentially silly business," that "bankruptcy is hanging over it," that it is admitted to be a "humbug," and that those are justified who described it from the first as "a combination of baboo vanity and intrigue with English twaddle." Bad logic is a common result of bad temper, and if the *Times* and the *St. James's*, which we have sometimes had to correct in important matters of fact, choose to make such an exhibition of themselves we have no objection. They merely show, not at all to our dissatisfaction, how keen they are to see our activity brought to an end. In their calmer moments they may perceive that the two matters (*a*) the financial prosperity of this journal, and (*b*) the intrinsic importance of the Indian National Congress are distinct from each other. Now, we are not going to discuss with the *Times* and the *St. James's* (*a*) our own financial position. If they like to play the part of eavesdroppers, and pry into our accounts, they are welcome to any satisfaction which the occupation affords them. But we think we may say, without undue assurance, that we shall continue, for some time to come, to be a thorn in their sides, and in the sides of critics like them. As to (*b*), which is a matter of far greater importance, we have something to say elsewhere. Sir Richard Garth's vindication of the Congress was good enough for Sir George Chesney, and it is good enough for the *St. James's Gazette*. We notice that the *St. James's*, which pursues Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji with spiteful vituperation, pins its faith on Mr. Bhownaggree. If it knew a little more about Indian affairs it would know that Mr. Bhownaggree is now endeavouring, though in vain, to convince the people of India that he is just another Dadabhai Naoroji. As for the *Times* (which exhibits a curious, and instructive, disposition to estimate the significance of a political organisation by the amount of hard cash that it is able to show) we can hardly do better than leave it to settle the question with Sir William Hunter who, at a luncheon in honour of the President of the Indian National Congress on February 18th, 1895, said:—

"I speak as one who sincerely and heartily desires to see accomplished the general programme of the Congress, and as one who believes that that accomplishment will be realised in this present century."

India and the Admiralty.

AN Anglo-Indian writes:—"One of the more typical illustrations of the principle, or, rather, the custom, followed in levying from India contributions for services in which the United Kingdom is jointly concerned with its Eastern dependency, is that of Naval Defence and Marine Services. In the Home Charges for 1896-7 the total of these, under the three heads of Her Majesty's Ships on Indian Seas, Indian Government Defence Vessels, and Other Charges, stand at Rx. 284,100. Including the outlay in India the total is rather over Rx. 600,000. Now, if your readers will turn to the Supplement issued with your November number, they will find, pages 16, 19-21, 22-3, so much of the 'objects and reasons' of that expenditure as could be explained by Capt. Hext, R.N., who is at the head of the Indian Marine, and by Admiral Kennedy, who, during his three years' term, was the Naval Commander-in-Chief on the East India Station —that is, in so far as such explanation could be given in that part of the Royal Commission's proceedings. As with other and longer questions of 'joint services' between the 'predominant partner' and the helpless contributor, detailed disputes mainly serve to obscure the equities of the subject or afford plausible excuses for the predatory spending departments at home. Hence, let us direct attention to the question of principle on which India's Naval and Marine Charges purport to be based, as it came up in the passages cited. Under various forms Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji put it thus—this naval defence 'is for the common purpose of defending the British rule in India . . . . it is for the common purpose of both, and . . . . either by the British exchequer or the Indian exchequer the apportionment should be made on both sides?' In response to this general statement of principle, Captain Hext frankly replied —'On both sides, yes.' In course of Admiral Kennedy's interesting examination, the broad consideration and obvious fact that the East India squadron is constantly liable to be used for other than Indian services was touched upon. As the Chairman put it—'Complaint is that they (Her Majesty's vessels) are occasionally employed on other than Indian service for which India gets no return' —which is sufficiently notorious.

The Test Question.

"As to the test question which goes to the root of the whole controversy, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji put it to the gallant admiral, interrogatively, thus: 'Assuming that India has an Imperial interest in the Royal Navy, there is so far an equal interest to Britain to maintain its rule in India?' And upon alluding to the collateral consideration, 'that comparatively Britain and India are very different in their capacity for payment or in their wealth,' the Indian representative asked: 'Is not this squadron [charged] for the defence of India as much for the interest of England as for India? Is it not for the preservation of British rule?' To this the gallant admiral replied in the affirmative. And when it was put, 'British rule is far more important to you (England) than it is to the Indians. Would you care a single farthing, if British rule were not there, to go and protect India?'—the admiral admitted that the object of the East India squadron 'is not entirely philanthropic.' Then he went on to state, fairly enough from his point of view, the extent of purely Indian interest in the coasting and Persian Gulf trade, which he claimed is defended by the Royal Navy vessels, and to that extent constitutes a claim for Indian contribution—to which the Indian spokesman raised no special objection. But the latter proceeded to the crux of the whole question of India's obligation to contribute so largely to our naval expenditure; and to bring out this it is needful to make somewhat full quotation. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji put it thus:

> 'The trade that is afloat, exports from India or imports into India from foreign countries; in fact, the bulk of the trade. . . . . first of all, the whole shipping is entirely English interest. . . . . Then the cargo also, as long as it is floating on the sea, is primarily at the risk of the East India banks and of the English marine insurance offices, because the East India banks, which are, strictly speaking, British interest, supply all the money for the exports or the imports. Therefore, what I mean to say is that while any cargo or any ship is floating on the sea, it is essentially primarily a British interest and British money is concerned in this ship and cargo; and, therefore, I said that Captain Hext was quite right in saying that the Indian trade, strictly speaking, was *nil*, or very little, compared with the whole British risks that are involved in the whole of the foreign trade of India?'

To this the gallant admiral responded affirmatively, though disclaiming responsibility for Captain Hext's form of expression.

A Strong Claim.

"As to that broad and substantial proposition that England's commerce with its colonies and dependencies is, while on the sea, entirely in the interest and at the risk of the mother country, and, therefore, its protection by naval force is entirely the concern of the United Kingdom, there is to hand an instructive comparison in the case of Australasia, which is under political conditions wholly different from those of India. To that proposition the noble Chairman incidentally demurred; but it is at least possible that by the time the final report of the Commission comes to be settled, Lord Welby, with his practical grasp of economic and financial principles, may see occasion to reconsider the question. He will find in the case of Australasia, with its entirely European

community, that it is far more directly connected with English commercial interests than are the Indian peoples, and a certain well-known officer of Engineers, of large colonial experience and sympathies, has, in accordance with the above proposition, disputed the claim on these colonies to be charged with Royal Navy expenditure, more emphatically than the representative of India has done on its behalf. It is true that Australasia does so contribute; but its payment 'does not pretend to represent the whole cost of the ships' so employed; while, in the case of India (to quote from Sir H. Waterfield's Memorandum), 'under the agreement of March, 1890, the charge against India is to take the form of the whole cost, effective and non-effective, of certain ships.' Now, how comes this difference of treatment between the helpless dependency and the masterly colony? The answer will be found in connexion with Captain Hext's examination (p. 23) where, as India's spokesman remarked: 'from Australia the Government here can only get what they will give, and from India they may take whatever they like.' And beside this question of current annual charges on Indian revenues, there is that of the huge capital expenditure on docks and other naval plant, both at Calcutta and Bombay, amounting to very large totals. The *Bombay Gazette*, recently writing on evidence similar to that we have cited, thus concluded its article :—

'The Admiralty has not contributed the fraction of a farthing towards the cost of those works. Admiral Kennedy, with the best will in the world, failed to meet the force of these striking figures, or the deduction from them that India has serious ground for dissatisfaction, and a strong claim for more equitable treatment.'

In the same article the Anglo-Indian writer commends Captain Hext for his having 'strenuously maintained that the payments made to the Admiralty are far in excess of the payments made by Australia for a far larger squadron.' Thus the Indian representative on the Royal Commission is abundantly confirmed in his contention that these naval charges should be placed on a more equitable basis; and this may fairly be hoped for as one of the results of Lord Welby's Commission. Much more in regard to other and larger portions of the present one-sided financial relations between England and India, may be hoped for now from the exposure of the discredited fallacy that British commerce carried on by British vessels and for British profit is 'India's trade.'"

The Railway Craze.

The present cry—it might almost be described as a craze—for extension of railways in India anyhow, everywhere, and at any cost, requires some check. This is not less needful in that this popular demand associates itself with an air of philanthropy. These earnest exploiters are consumed with desire to save the Indian masses from the perils of famine. This gives a tinge of altruism to the appeals of financiers and ironmasters; but it scarcely serves to disguise the ruling passion for commissions, returns, and premiums in which the current inordinate zeal for Indian railway extension finds its motive power. It must be observed that one condition, expressed or implied, in the proposals so eagerly put forth is that the Indian Government shall give its guarantee of at least a minimum return, with the chance of future profits also conceded. Thus it may be said in respect of these eager promoters that their position is only another variant of the old formula, "Heads we win, tails you lose." That is, it comes to this—the Indian Government is to stand the racket and the risk. Everybody admits that the 20,000 miles of railways in India have done much for British trade, and some good for certain provinces and classes of people in India; but, as regards the Indian Government, the financial commonwealth of India, the railway system has imposed thereon a huge deficit. In our September number it was shown that this amounts to over fifty crores of rupees, and it is still being added to annually. Gold is precious, but it is quite possible to pay too much for it even in India. Hence it was only just on the part of "the Secretary of State in Council" to administer the very moderate check to railway exploiters' zeal which had to be read almost between the lines in Sir Horace Walpole's letter to Sir Stafford Northcote, President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, in his letter of Nov. 24th. After compliments and statement of the present extent of the Indian railway system, Sir Horace was desired to remind the Chambers, and the promoters behind them, that the provision of "the necessary funds for such operations, in conjunction with the various requirements of Indian administration in other directions, necessitates a due weighing of the resources of the State." In passing, it may be noted, as showing the need for the "due weighing," that, in the column parallel with the letter as it appeared in the *Times*, were reports of two of the large Indian railways quoting the returns as, in one case, only 2·42 per cent., and in another 3·07—this last being one of the old guaranteed lines, against which there stands a deficit of millions for arrears paid to its shareholders out of the rayats' revenue.

Zeal without Knowledge.

Taking broader views of Indian public works questions than come within the scope of guaranteed promoters' perspective, one finds at least two large considerations that demand attention. One directly applies to their zeal without (adequate local) knowledge, namely, that in the present condition of India there are now

comparatively few routes and tracts where railways of present style and cost could be expected to yield even the 3 per cent. guarantee which promoters ask. There are, however, many localities, where smaller lines of much more economical construction might pay 3 per cent. and more; but these require to be based on rupee capital, designed on strictly thrifty methods, and the management left mainly in the hands of native Indian merchants aided by the district authorities. But city financiers, with their British dislike of "trouble"—that is painstaking, persevering work—will have little to say to this class of local exploitation in India and for the Indians. The city's central idea is to engineer guarantees out of the general revenue of India. The other consideration is too large to be entered on here, and does not come within the scope of that "insularity" which Mr. Edward Dicey confesses is the secret of our strength—and limitations. Briefly, it is that water, its storage and distribution, is and might be worth far more for India than all the railways that have been and can be constructed in that great peninsula. But this grand opening of prosperity and production can only be properly carried out by Indian public authorities and people; and if it were possible to combine and apply any impartial public opinion to those questions, that is the true form of enterprise that should be forced on the Secretary of State in Council, in season and out.

LETTERS FROM THE EAST.[1]

By H. J. Reynolds, C.S.I.

Sometime Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Member of the Viceroy's Council, etc., etc.

Nearly sixty years have elapsed since Macaulay expressed his surprise at the apathy with which the English people are content to remain in ignorance of the achievements of the men who founded our Indian Empire. Macaulay was thinking of Clive and Munro, of Eyre Coote and Hastings. But "there lived brave men before Agamemnon," and the seed which has borne such splendid fruit was sown in the opening years of the 17th century, by the intrepid pioneers sent forth by "The Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies." The correspondence relating to the first eight voyages of the Company's servants, from the years 1602 to 1613, with an introductory chapter by the Registrar of the India Office, has now been published under the authority of the Secretary of State: and it gives a vivid picture of the struggles and difficulties of those early days, when Jehangir was the Emperor of India, when the Dutch and the "Portingals" were the dominant European powers in the East, when British merchants had sometimes to supplicate, and sometimes to fight, for liberty to land their goods, and carry on their trade.

It is not probable, however, that this volume will command any wide circle of readers. The apathy of which Macaulay complained two generations ago, is not yet dispelled. The Indian Budget is still laid before a jaded House of Commons, in the closing days of the session, in the presence of a handful of members who take an interest in nothing but the prorogation. The average Englishman, who knows little and cares less about our India Empire of to-day, is not likely to trouble himself with the records of its birth and infancy. We propose, therefore, briefly to review the contents of the volume before us, in the hope that our remarks may induce some readers to study the original letters, and may convey to others some impression, however imperfect, of what their forefathers achieved and endured in building up the fabric of British supremacy in India.

The Company's charter was signed on the last day of the 16th century; and the first fleet of five vessels sailed in February, 1601, under the command of Captain Lancaster. After staying some months at Madagascar, he visited Bantam and Achin, where he obtained important trade privileges from the King; and finally returned in September, 1603, with a valuable cargo of pepper. This, and the second voyage in 1604, were confined to Java, Sumatra, and the Moluccas: but in the third voyage in 1607 trade was opened at Surat, which was for some time afterwards the principal seat of the Company's Indian business. Surat is described in the correspondence as "the only key to open all the rich and best trade of the Indies." From Surat, Captain Hawkins was despatched to Agra with letters for the Emperor Jehangir; but the opposition of the Portuguese made his mission fruitless. Later on, Mr. Paul Canning was sent to Agra on a similar errand; but this attempt also failed, owing partly to the misconduct of the envoy, and partly (as was believed) to the machinations of the Jesuits. It is difficult to suppose that the Jesuits can really have influenced the policy of the Court of Agra: but in those days the Gunpowder Plot was still a recent memory, and the Jesuits were equally feared and hated by all loyal Englishmen. Notwithstanding these failures, the voyage was commercially successful, and the vessels returned in safety with a full cargo of spices.

In the fourth voyage the tide of fortune turned against the Company, or rather against those members

[1] "Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East." Vol. I., 1602-1613, with an introduction by Frederic Charles Danvers, Registrar and Superintendent of Records, India Office. Published under the patronage of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council. (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co. 1896.)

of the Company who subscribed to the venture. For it must be understood that these voyages were not undertaken by the Company in its corporate capacity: the expenses of each voyage were defrayed by individual members, who shared the profits, or bore the loss. Two ships were despatched on this voyage in March, 1608; but one of them was lost on the coast of India, and the other was wrecked on the coast of Brittany, when she had nearly reached home. The fifth voyage, in 1609, consisted of only one vessel, which visited the Eastern islands, and returned with a valuable cargo in spite of strenuous opposition from the Dutch.

The sixth voyage was on a more ambitious scale. The Company had lately obtained a renewal of their charter, and they built two new ships, one of which (of 1,100 tons) is proudly referred to as the largest merchant ship in England. The ceremony of naming these ships was attended by the King and Queen in person; and the vessels were named the "Trades Increase" and the "Peppercorn." The expedition sailed in April, 1610, under the command of Sir Henry Middleton in the "Trades Increase," accompanied by Captain Downton in the "Peppercorn," and Captain Larkyns in a third vessel, the "Darling." The squadron proceeded to Aden, where some trade was effected, and then went on to Mocha. Here the "Trades Increase" ran aground, and her cargo was taken out and landed. Subsequently, Sir Henry with a party of his men went ashore, and was treacherously attacked by the natives. Some of the English were slain, and the rest were made prisoners, and sent up the country to the Basha. After a captivity of five months, Sir Henry Middleton escaped, and got on board the "Darling." He immediately blockaded the port, and captured several vessels by way of reprisal. He then sailed for Surat where he had a sharp engagement with the Portuguese fleet, and succeeded in forcing his way on shore, but could not obtain leave to establish a factory. He next proceeded to Dabul, where he captured some more vessels; and then returned to Aden and the straits of Babelmandeb, where he made himself so troublesome that an envoy was sent from Mocha to negotiate with him. Sir Henry demanded 100,000 rials of 8 (£22,500), as compensation for his losses and sufferings: and as the money was not paid, he continued his depredations, and then sailed southward, his ship being very leaky. From Bantam the "Peppercorn" went back to England, and the "Trades Increase" was destroyed by fire when careened on the beach for repairs. The "Darling" also had to be abandoned as unseaworthy, so that of the three vessels only the "Peppercorn" returned.

In the seventh voyage (1611) the first British factories were established in southern India on the Coromandel coast. Trade was opened at Negapatam, Pulicat, and Masulipatam; but Captain Hippon, who commanded the expedition, complains that "the Hollanders do bear a hard hand against us, for to hinder us from trading in this place." The records of this voyage are very imperfect. For the eighth voyage three vessels were sent out in April, 1611, under the command of Captain John Saris. He proceeded to Socotra and Mocha, and then joined Sir Henry Middleton in his attacks on the Turkish and Indian shipping. A fierce dispute ensued between the two captains, as to their respective shares of the compensation which had been demanded from the Governor of Mocha. The squadron then sailed for Bantam, and Captain Saris, after despatching two of his ships to England, proceeded in the "Clove" to Japan, where he was well received by the king, and was allowed to establish a factory. Here the correspondence of this volume concludes, the last letter being dated 1st December, 1613.

In the picture which these letters present, three figures stand out prominently from the canvas. These are Sir Henry Middleton, Captain Nicholas Downton, and Captain John Saris; and their correspondence fills the greater part of the volume. In their stubborn tenacity of purpose, their dauntless courage, their patient endurance of almost incredible hardships, their cheerful confidence against overwhelming odds, these men show themselves the worthy successors of Drake and Hawkins, and the rest of the old sea-dogs who had "singed the king of Spain's beard" some twenty years before. Like Drake, they went perilously near the border-line which separates piracy from warfare; indeed, Downton, on his return to England, was arrested as a pirate, though he was soon released. They had to face battle and tempest, open hostility and secret treachery. The terrible scurvy more than decimated their crews: in the first twelve months of the eighth voyage there died of sickness thirty-one men in the "Clove," thirty-one in the "Hector," and fourteen in the "Thomas." Every man's hand was against them; Turks and Moors, Portuguese and Dutch, Spaniards and Jesuits. But they never flinched; like Jim Bludso, the hero of the burning steamer,

> "They saw their duty, a dead sure thing,
> And went for it there and then."

Such were the men to whom England owes her Indian empire.

The Company seems to have been as well served by its merchants as by its naval commanders. Many of the letters are filled with commercial details, price lists, and recommendations as to the goods to be sent out for traffic. At present, salt and cotton goods are among the most important articles of export to

India. But, in those days, Manchester was a petty town of 4,000 inhabitants, and salt, instead of being exported from Liverpool, was imported into England from France. The cargoes of the early voyages consisted of iron, tin, lead, quicksilver, baize, and broadcloth; besides some showy articles taken out as presents for the native kings and chiefs. The merchants had many difficulties to contend with: the hostility of the Dutch and Portugese, the dishonesty of the native banians, the bewildering multiplicity of weights and measures, and the intricacies of the local currency. All these obstacles are prominently brought to notice in the correspondence. But energy and perseverance triumphed; and the trade was extremely lucrative. The two first voyages produced profits of 95 per cent., and the subsequent ventures were even more successful, the third voyage bringing in a return of 234 per cent. Even the sixth voyage, with all its mishaps, resulted in a profit of 121 per cent. Yet the Company was not a very liberal paymaster. The letter of Mr. Biddulph (No. 116) shows that he was in a post of trust and responsibility; but his salary was only 40 rials of 8, or about £9 a year. Mr. Hearne, who was in charge of the factory at Bantam, was rather better treated, as he received £48 a year. William Adams (see letter 123), was in a position to make his own terms; and, after much haggling, the Company agreed to give him £100 a year. It was not till Clive's third government, in 1765, that the Company recognised the wisdom of paying reasonable salaries, and forbidding its servants to engage in private trade.

The style of the letters, as indeed might be expected, varies greatly. Sometimes we have the pacific despatch of a merchant, anxious to explain to his employers the best channels of trade; sometimes the curt and imperious language of a rough sea-captain. But the letters in general are couched in racy and vigorous English, with quaint touches here and there which might excite a smile. Mr. Anthony Marlowe, landing at Sierra Leone, notes (apparently with some surprise) that the inhabitants are black. "The king and his people are niggers, simple and harmless." A native merchant is described as being "of the sect of Pythagoras." A merchant, whose name is not given, writing from Surat, thinks that even Providence is helpless without the concurrence of the King of Spain. "Which free trade I pray God send us if it be his blessed will, but, without license of the King of Spain, it can never be effected possibly." Captain Saris has as bad an opinion of the heathen Chinee as Bret Harte himself. "See that the money be good you receive of Limco, for he is a Chinesa." The native names of persons and places are disguised under forms which would make Sir William Hunter shudder. The Emperor Akbar appears as Heccabar,[1] and Mukarrab Khan, the Governor of Cambay, is sometimes Mocorabacan, and sometimes Mocrow Bowcan. In several of the letters Masulipatam is referred to as "Mesopotamia." A journal of Eastern travel would manifestly be incomplete without some mention of Prester John; and accordingly letter 84 gives an account of that mysterious potentate, who is apparently the king of Abyssinia.

If space permitted, we should have liked to notice the adventures of William Adams, his disastrous voyage, his long detention in Japan, his pathetic appeal to his unknown fellow-countrymen at Bantam, his rescue by Captain Saris, and his sanguine expectation of discovering the North-West passage. But it is time to bring this paper to a close, and we must refer our readers to the letters of Adams himself for the details of his story.

The volume is handsomely got up, and the reader is much assisted by an excellent glossary. The addition of a map would have been an improvement. The editor's work is well done, so far as it goes; but it has been left somewhat incomplete. The seventh and eighth voyages are passed over without notice; and the summary of the six voyages would perhaps have been more useful if it had been inserted in the body of the work, in immediate connexion with the letters it is intended to illustrate.

We shall look with interest for the future volumes of the series.

THE FINANCES OF INDIA.

By J. DACOSTA.

Lord George Hamilton, in his last Financial Statement, pointed significantly to the danger which threatens the finances of India from two opposite quarters—namely, from the liability of Indian revenue being diverted to satisfy the requirements of other countries, and from the Government of India having exhausted its sources of taxation. While he congratulated the House on his being able, on the present occasion, to show a surplus in each of the three years reviewed in his speech, he observed:—

> "Now Sir, if the statement I have made had been made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer with regard to this country, the general verdict would have been that it was a forecast that a remission of taxation was almost certain to take place in subsequent years. *But India is not self-contained as to expenditure, and the Indian Government is not in possession of a reserve of taxation.*"

The truth of these two assertions has been strikingly illustrated in the history of the last thirty-eight years—that is, ever since the anomalous system of government embodied in Act cvi., of 1858 invested a

[1] This curious spelling inclines one to ask, in the words of Hamlet (slightly modified):
"What's Hecchabar to him, or he to Hecchabar?"

member of the British Cabinet with supreme power in India, without any effectual safeguards against that power being misused. To anyone reading that Act, it is manifest that Parliament intended to interdict Indian revenue being expended in military operations beyond the frontier of India, except under urgent necessity, such as to repel actual invasion. Fifty millions of Indian revenue was, nevertheless, spent in the unfortunate Afghan war of 1878-80 and in the minor wars against Central Asian tribes, which were waged solely for the support of the British Cabinet's policy towards Russia, commonly known as the "Forward" or "Scientific" frontier policy. Many millions of Indian revenue were likewise diverted to defray the cost of the Abyssinian war, of the conquest of Burma, and of the recent operations at Suakin in connection with the projected conquest of the Sudan. As our troops have as yet only reached Dongola on the frontier of that country while attempts are simultaneously being made by us to subjugate other tracts in the vast continent of Africa, the Indian treasury is by no means safe from further calls in respect of military operations carried on in distant lands, a circumstance that justifies the anxiety regarding the prospects of Indian finances which Lord G. Hamilton so pithily expressed in the above short extract from his speech.

In view of this disquieting condition of things the Indian Secretary's declaration that "the improvement in Indian finance, as shown in his Budget statement, has greatly improved the borrowing power of the Indian Government," can scarcely be accepted as a matter for congratulation, so long as that power remains liable to be used, as it has hitherto been used, in increasing the Indian debt without affording any countervailing advantage to those who are to bear the burden of such increase.

Indian secretaries have assured us, year after year, that our administration in India is carried on with strict economy, and that the rapid increase of the public debt is due chiefly to the construction of remunerative public works. But facts and figures have, from time to time, come to light which have created a distinct impression that our Indian administration is conducted with reckless extravagance, and that most of the irrigation, navigation, and other public works constructed by the Indian Government were not wanted, and have failed to earn the interest of the loans raised for their construction—heavy permanent burdens having thus been imposed on the taxpayers of India, from which they derive no advantage whatever. Lord Salisbury, speaking in Manchester in 1875, said:

> "In most cases the irrigation works have not answered their purpose, and their financial results have been deplorable."

And later in Bradford, he said:

> "If you expend money rashly in irrigation works which will not pay and cannot be used by the inhabitants, the interest of that money must be found out of taxes which must in the main be levied on the peasant; and the end will be that, in order to save him from famine which comes once in twenty years, we will crush him under an increased burden of taxes which comes upon him every year."

Then, Lord George Hamilton, when he moved for the appointment of a select committee to enquire into the public works expenditure, said:

> "On the £9,000,000 spent in recent years in Bengal alone, the return yielded was only ½ per cent."

And in his report as Chairman of that Committee, he said:

> "Many irrigation works, far from paying the interest on the capital expended, do not even cover their working expenses."

Indian Secretaries have also contended that the high price of Indian securities shows the improved credit of the Government of India and the success of their financial administration. But the public ascribe the high price of Indian securities to an impression that, if anything went wrong with India, England would be morally responsible for the money advanced on Indian securities, and this impression gained strength from the Act of Parliament passed some years ago, which allowed trust money in England to be invested in Indian securities. We should however remember that, were even the English Government to acknowledge the supposed moral responsibility imputed to them, they could not discharge it unless Parliament consented to the necessary funds being raised by taxation imposed on the people of the United Kingdom—a contingency which must be considered highly improbable while British Constituencies are composed chiefly of working men and poor men who would certainly resist such taxation.

The extraordinary and unexpected surpluses, on which Lord G. Hamilton congratulated Parliament, were surprises which his Lordship laboured to explain. But his explanations were based on figures and arguments essentially problematic, which could carry no conviction as to the correctness of the conclusions drawn from them, especially in the minds of those who remembered the startling disclosures made before the Indian Finance Committee of 1872-74. The Blue-books containing the evidence which was then given, are much too voluminous for extracts from them being usefully given here. But, as the most important points elicited by the Committee were, at the time, stated in Parliament by the late Professor Henry Fawcett, the following extracts from his speeches might enable readers of Lord G. Hamilton's last financial statement to form their own judgment respecting it.

Mr. Fawcett, on the 16th August, 1872, said that

> "an attempt had *in vain* been made to get the Financial Department to publish a clear account of the loans that were raised and how they were expended."

And on the 31st July, 1873, the following statements, contained in his speech, will doubtless prove instructive to all who study Indian finance and Indian accounts:

> "Associated with the figures which have been detailed to us by the Under Secretary, there is an amount of complexity and confusion the penetration of which would baffle the utmost financial ingenuity. It is impossible to deduce from those figures any trustworthy conclusions as to the true financial position of India. Anyone who has listened to the evidence given before the Indian Finance Committee cannot fail to have been struck with the impenetrable veil thrown over Indian finance by the perplexing distinction between public works extraordinary and public works ordinary. Then, again, not the slightest reliance can be placed on any statement of

revenue or expenditure, whilst there are fluctuations in the cash balances of many millions a year. The cash balances rose in 1870-71 from sixteen millions to twenty millions, and in the next year to twenty-four millions; then they suddenly sank to twenty millions, and, during the present year, the Under Secretary has informed us that the cash balances will again be reduced by four millions. Such unaccountable fluctuations afford an unbounded field for exploits of financial strategy. No one has ever been able to give an intelligible description of those cash balances. I believe the Prime Minister, great as is his mastery over finance, would be utterly baffled if he attempted to fathom the mystery. So far as any insight can be obtained into the subject, it appears that the cash balances are an *omnium gatherum*, composed partly of unexpended loans, of previous years' surpluses, and of unexhausted credits. This being the case, is it not obvious that when, in one year, the cash balances are reduced by more than four millions—a statement that shows, as this year's Budget does, a pretended balance of revenue over expenditure of £150,000—it is not worth the paper on which it is printed? I would ask, can the Under Secretary or any other official prove to the House that none of the money which is this year to be taken from the cash balances is to be devoted to ordinary current expenditure? And until this is shown, can we feel the slightest confidence that the present year's surplus has not been manufactured by the simple process of devoting some portion of an unexpended loan to ordinary income? Among other instances of appropriation of capital to income, £427,000, representing accumulations arising from the sale of waste lands, appeared in 1869-70 as an item of ordinary income. It had been specially enacted that money resulting from such sales should be either invested or employed in paying off debt. But so anxious was the Government of India to manufacture a surplus, that the law, and, in fact, every consideration that should influence prudent financiers and careful statesmen, were cast to the winds. Many as have been the strange disclosures made before the Indian Finance Committee during the last three years, nothing perhaps throws a more instructive light on the way in which Indian affairs are managed than the confession made by official after official of this appropriation of capital to income. One official frankly admitted that, in looking over Indian accounts, whenever it is stated that the Government holds some fund, it may be almost invariably concluded that the money has long since been spent. The fund has disappeared, and the only memorial of its former existence is a debt of an equivalent amount. Anyone who reads General Strachey's evidence before the Indian Finance Committee must certainly come to the conclusion that I have not employed too strong language in saying that the department had been characterised by waste, mismanagement, and extravagance."

To revert now to the fatal system of government inaugurated under the Act cvi., of 1858, it will doubtless be remembered that when the measure was under the consideration of Parliament, the late Mr. John Stuart Mill (a high authority on Indian affairs) emphatically warned the House that an incalculable injury would be inflicted upon India, unless an influence were brought into existence, which would constitute for the finances of that country a protection similar to that which it had received from the East India Company—that is, a protection against the attacks of political parties at home, of administrative departments of the British Government, and of those large trading interests capable of affording substantial Parliamentary support to the Cabinet of the day. Perhaps nothing short of a popularly elected body in India, endowed with the power of publicly deliberating on the wants of their country, could adequately supply the needed protection. But steps might have been taken, when the danger was exposed by Mr. Mill, for securing a reasonable amount of safety from attacks such as have since been constantly directed against the Indian Treasury. It is, at all events, to be deeply regretted that Sir W. Wedderburn's amendment of 13th August last, proposing the appointment of a Select Committee to examine and report on the Indian Estimates and Accounts, was not carried, seeing that the labours of such a Committee could not fail to "secure for the House a reasonable understanding of Indian finance and a reasonable control over that important department of Imperial affairs."

That the amendment was defeated by the majority which the Cabinet has secured, can be no matter for wonder, seeing that the measure proposed was an attack on the Cabinet itself, by whom the ill-defined powers misused by the Indian Secretary, have virtually been exercised. At the same time it is impossible to doubt that the Indian Exchequer, deprived of the protection which the highest authorities have pronounced to be essential for safety, can long withstand the excessive and continuous strain to which it is subjected.

After the above article had been written, a Calcutta telegram of December the 17th, announced that the Indian Government had, on that day, introduced and passed at a single sitting of the Legislative Council, a Bill authorising itself to appropriate for general purposes two crores of rupees out of the reserve fund which had been formed, under a legal enactment, for insuring the due payment of the paper currency issued by the Government of India. Among the causes which necessitated this extraordinary action, the telegram refers to the following:—

1. Of the cash balances which stood at 16½ millions in December, 1895, 9 millions had meanwhile been expended; and their present figure of 7½ millions was lower than it had ever been during the last twenty years;

2. The Secretary of State had to suspend the sale of his Council's drafts on India, because the Indian Treasury was reported not to be in a position to meet those drafts;

3. The Bank of Bengal contemplated stopping all advances on Government securities.

This news makes it impossible to believe that Lord G. Hamilton could have been correctly informed on the financial situation in India, when, on the eve of the prorogation of Parliament, he spoke confidently and even with exultation, of the improvement in Indian finance, and of the greatly improved credit of the Indian Government. Had that credit stood high would not the obvious step, in the present crisis, have been to sell the Government securities which were placed in exchange for the coin taken from the currency reserve?

The fact that the 9 millions taken from the cash balances and the two crores appropriated from the currency reserve have, in addition to the ordinary revenue of the Government, been needed to cover its expenditure during the year, throws some light on those feats which the Indian Secretary held up for admiration, when he observed in his financial statement:—

"I am glad to say that again the Indian Government have shown signs of remarkable frugality and control. The total increase of expenditure at the close of the year, including the large sums I have mentioned is only 50 lakhs as against charges incurred of 284 lakhs."

J. D.

THE "FOREIGN TRADE OF INDIA."

BY W. M. J. WILLIAMS.

The recently issued Review of the Trade of India in 1895-6, prepared by Mr. J. E. O'Conor, Director-General of Statistics to the Government of India, is again a document both elaborate and able. To peruse it is to be conscious of many deep impressions on this great subject. The chief impressions, perhaps, are these two: the continued development of the industrial progress of India, and the unsatisfactory proportion of Indian foreign trade commanded by the United Kingdom. As one considers, too, the generally favourable Review, showing a considerable recovery from the low-water mark of 1894-5, it is impossible to escape the grim thought that this prosperous year's report is perused along with telegraphic reports of famine in the same region. Despite this disconcerting fact, it will still be of service to follow Mr. O'Conor in the skilful Review of last year's trade. In this column it is impossible to give more than a summary of the immense subject treated, and to follow that with some slight reference to one or two subjects of special interest to the United Kingdom. The chief object of this article will be secured if I induce some to peruse the details so ably marshalled by Mr. O'Conor.

GENERAL SUMMARY OF INDIA'S FOREIGN TRADE.

	1891-2.	1892-3.	1893-4.	1894-5.	1895-6.
IMPORTS :—	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.
Merchandise ...	66,587,457	62,605,030	73,796,957	70,167,438	69,316,395
Gold	4,118,929	1,781,789	3,146,530	1,756,280	5,029,269
Silver	10,6[illegible]3,733	15,228,021	15,278,726	7,802,727	8,329,716
Total ...	81,310,119	79,614,840	92,382,213	79,726,445	82,675,380
EXPORTS :—					
Foreign Merchandise re-imported ..	4,485,179	4,590,290	4,431,975	5,507,561	4,717,979
Indian Merchandise ...	103,550,831	101,945,707	102,015,615	103,757,438	109,545,161
Gold	1,705,737	4,594,472	2,505,2[illegible]4	6,730,374	2,503,317
Silver	1,438,049	2,334,522	1,519,453	1,427,643	1,728,984
Total ...	111,179,196	113,464,991	110,472,327	116,973,016	118,495,441

The official year in India, as in the United Kingdom, ends with March, so that the above summary brings us down to the close of the first quarter of 1896. Last year, as we see, is certainly a great improvement upon 1894-5; but a perusal of this comparative table for the last five years is anything but satisfactory reading. With a population growing at a rapid rate, trade is not really expansive. Over and over again are we reminded that in the year 1893-4, and the earlier portion of the following year, trade was greatly disturbed by two well-known causes, the change in the currency and the imposition of import duties. These produced an inflated trade; happy should it prove to be as temporary as Mr. O'Conor is inclined to regard it. But, omitting 1893-4 as extraordinary, it is clearly seen that the Import trade is inexpansive. On the other hand, the Export trade grows at a rapid rate. In the United Kingdom some call attention to the opposite feature and lament it; but well would it be for India could she profit on her trade, instead of being subject to the drain of an excess export of no less than Rx. 36,000,000 in 1895-6. This drain, too, shows a tendency to increase, and this broad fact of the situation is one which demands the attention of her rulers, especially now when they have to confront a population, a large part of which is facing starvation. Into the causes of this great drain, it is not my province to enquire just here, but in a review of India's trade it should be more prominent than it is in Mr. O'Conor's work. It will be observed that transactions in gold and silver are separately reported in the above figures, and they seem to point to profound sensitiveness in this market. The increase in the importation of gold is pointed out as now again reasserting itself, but Mr. O'Conor can only offer some suggestions to account for this fact, such as manufacture of ornaments, substituted for hoarding purposes, etc. The silver imported is reported as declining, the last two years together scarcely equalling in quantity the year 1893-4, and during the remaining portion of 1896 since the close of the fiscal year, this declension has continued. These facts lead up to a review of the effect of the closing of the mint in 1893 on exchange value in relation to the price of silver in London, which is too long for this column, but the chief result of which is the opinion that the rupee now rules the price whereas previously the price governed the rupee. It would be a great gain were Mr. O'Conor, in a future Review, to take the wider subject into consideration, so that it should embrace the government transactions, and the excess of exports, along with the questions of the gold and silver market. That the inter-relations of these things have not yet been set forth in such detail as they deserve is quite plain. There is evidence here and there in this Review that Mr. O'Conor has ready some studies on the relation of the currency and import duties to the progress of Indian trade, and it is hoped that he will find an avenue for publishing them. Meantime, to some of my readers, the following figures, giving the relative prices of the following exports from India, will be interesting. Prices for 1873 being taken to represent 100, then in January, 1896, Cotton Broach was 94; Cotton Yarns (20's), 74; Rice Moonghy, 142; Wheat (No. 1, soft, white), 81; Opium (Bengal), 100; Indigo (good), 105; Jute (picked), 175; Gunny Bags, 108; Linseed (fine, bold, clean), 115; Tea, 84.

Having taken this general view of the Trade of India, let us examine a little of its component parts. Did space permit, a detailed analysis of the various trades would afford much interest from both a commercial and an economic point of view. For instance, the import trade for the last two complete years may be analysed as follows:—

	1894-5.	1895-6.	Change
	Rx.	Rx.	in 1895-6.
Cotton Goods......	32,673,628	25,755,872	—21·1 per cent.
All other imported merchandise ..	37,493,810	43,560,523	+16·1 „

Here we see, at a glance, the disturbing effect of the import duties. In anticipation of them the Indian markets were largely overstocked with imported cottons. Reaction and shrinking followed

their imposition in December 1894, which proved in 1895-6 to be as much as 21 per cent. The fiscal uncertainty evidently disorganised the market and made it quite feverish. Happily, with the exceptions of coal and woollens, all articles of importance show a substantial increase. With regard to *Imports* the following table will conveniently summarise their course of recent years :—

	1891-2.	1892-3.	1893-4.	1894-5.	1895-6.
	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.
Cotton goods and yarn	28,689,472	25,625,865	32,377,469	32,673,628	25,755,872
Metals, including hardware and cutlery	6,894,067	6,599,772	7,580,282	6,345,660	8,196,005
Machinery and millwork	2,111,596	2,359,103	2,518,038	2,442,433	3,237,401
Oils, chiefly mineral ...	2,635,955	2,919,162	3,570,188	2,221,222	3,137,420
Sugar	2,561,996	2,625,683	2,824,190	2,875,297	3,106,813
Silk, raw and manufactured	3,014,698	2,817,651	3,188,053	2,313,952	2,937,271
Chemicals, drugs and medicines, dyes, &c.	1,535,486	1,615,194	1,837,570	1,866,294	2,160,649
Provisions	1,771,793	1,862,055	1,782,868	1,575,943	1,797,245
Liquors	1,442,095	1,447,263	1,458,204	1,458,180	1,695,828
Apparel	1,398,027	1,383,830	1,578,049	1,435,191	1,594,280
Railway material ...	1,484,173	1,032,939	1,242,977	1,556,969	1,520,584
Woollen goods	1,762,031	1,523,243	1,892,042	1,541,639	1,445,517
Coal...	1,250,493	1,141,450	972,588	1,473,964	1,402,790
Glass and glassware ...	728,203	670,804	788,480	619,996	741,078
Spices	797,196	623,633	873,655	777,106	659,329
Salt	627,953	576,694	791,067	842,193	653,226
Paper and pasteboard	470,332	436,098	494,208	347,524	409,983
Umbrellas	414,942	441,145	480,933	346,331	344,208

This table tells a tale of the Import trade of India and for the most part confirms in detail the deductions drawn from the general abstract previously given. One or two remarks respecting special trades may be made after supplying the following Table of the *Distribution of this Import Trade* :—

	1893-4.		1894-5.		1895-6.	
	Rx.	Per Cent.	Rx.	Per Cent.	Rx.	Per Cent.
United Kingdom ...	52,001,013	70·3	51,105,757	72·8	47,161,484	68·0
China	3,542,556	4·8	2,662,958	3·8	2,805,858	4·2
Belgium	2,053,275	2·8	1,866,365	2·7	2,728,893	3·9
Germany	1,714,003	2·3	1,731,453	2·5	2,352,529	3·4
Straits Settlements ...	2,524,623	3·4	2,103,158	3·0	2,075,220	3·0
Russia	1,263,014	1·7	1,007,645	1·4	1,867,558	2·7
Mauritius	1,787,030	2·4	1,961,603	2·8	1,721,339	2·5
Austria-Hungary ...	1,371,383	1·0	1,194,115	1·7	1,324,871	1·9
United States	2,016,270	2·7	1,106,441	1·6	1,139,438	1·6
France	1,138,262	1·5	860,430	1·2	978,970	1·4

This is the looking-glass of importation into India, nor can its picture be a sweet one to our merchants. In the Metals British trade with India, for instance, is anything but assuring. Belgium is making great strides against us in Copper and in Steel, and as the Iron trade is declining, the hold upon the Steel trade is of growing importance. For Hardware and Cutlery we are told that "cheap goods made in Germany, Austro-Hungary and Belgium are gradually ousting English goods." "It has been stated too, that British shipping companies offer better rates of freight from Antwerp to Calcutta than from Middlesborough to Calcutta. The factors in the competition, however, are for the English ironmasters to consider: we can only present the results of the competition." Though the decline is not alarming, yet it is to be hoped that our people will at once consider the factors of this unhappy competition. On the other hand, a prospect of great expansion in the use of Machinery in the Tea cultivation is held out, and this should stir up our engineers to try to secure the orders. Our Cotton merchants will doubtless take a deep interest in the experiment of Mr. Jamsetji N. Tata of Bombay who is trying the cultivation of Egyptian Cotton in Bombay and Scinde, guaranteeing to buy the produce. The figures, too, relating to manufactured cottons are full of interest and should be perused carefully.

We follow on with similar tables for the *Export* trade. The first table gives an analysis of the export trade, and is as follows :—

	1891-2.	1892-3.	1893-4.	1894-5.	1895-6.
	Rx	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.
Grain and Pulse... ...	28,695,680	20,562,972	16,325,142	17,056,850	18,292,774
Cotton, raw	10,754,302	12,743,679	13,296,670	8,703,356	14,090,193
Jute, raw	6,848,493	7,944,223	8,524,130	10,575,977	9,992,861
Seeds	12,208,458	11,631,015	16,753,251	14,201,520	9,717,431
Opium	9,562,261	9,255,014	8,019,428	9,064,665	8,459,336
Cotton, yarn, and cloth	7,035,036	8,100,658	6,242,558	7,148,679	8,344,587
Tea	5,968,129	6,292,348	6,585,835	7,555,745	7,664,889
Hides and skins	5,186,002	5,591,934	5,801,328	6,559,940	7,639,478
Indigo	3,214,076	4,141,179	4,182,128	4,745,915	5,354,511
Jute manufactures ...	2,513,100	3,237,993	3,441,787	4,210,834	4,747,443
Coffee	1,998,659	2,066,862	2,002,271	2,122,373	2,198,192
Lac	951,224	784,250	960,330	1,406,474	1,833,601
Wool, raw	1,013,864	1,116,578	1,079,772	1,376,850	1,355,108
Provisions	776,531	775,802	873,877	853,155	894,794
Dyes, other than indigo	764,710	802,013	841,073	864,490	872,683
Wood and timber ...	609,463	695,259	589,764	661,824	801,897
Oils, including paraffin wax	604,046	633,626	535,881	775,016	738,707
Silk, raw	518,627	617,574	698,099	502,009	642,169
Sugar	508,417	507,914	892,741	550,583	574,745
Saltpetre	365,618	438,940	338,102	411,365	535,945
Spices	408,978	514,675	455,923	561,329	489,509

The prosperous trades are easily picked out from this list, among them being cotton and cotton goods, which grew very rapidly last year, and indigo, tea, hides and skins, jute, raw silk, and saltpetre. Grain and pulse which have been diminishing for years as other granaries were developed, will certainly contract still more during this famine year. In speaking of prosperity in connection with exports, it must always be thought of subject to the very great drain by excess of exports, to which we have already referred. We can now follow on with a table of the *General Distribution of the Export Trade*, complementary to that of the imports :—

	1894-5.		1895-6.	
	Rx.	Per Cent.	Rx.	Per Cent.
United Kingdom ...	32,795,328	31·6	35,000,899	31·9
China	12,548,725	12·1	13,778,103	12·6
France	8,660,680	8·3	8,664,871	7·9
Germany	7,718,877	7·4	8,054,374	7·3
United States	5,838,449	5·6	5,907,092	5·4
Straits Settlements ...	5,238,985	5·0	5,845,931	5·3
Egypt	4,627,748	4·5	5,175,741	4·7
Belgium	3,786,302	3·6	3,941,490	3·6
Ceylon	3,262,299	3·1	3,500,082	3·2
Austria-Hungary ...	2,438,977	2·3	3,344,489	3·5
Italy	2,980,601	2·9	3,122,050	2·8
Japan	1,663,701	1·6	2,789,436	2·5
South America	1,621,060	1·6	1,182,021	1·8
Australia	1,325,522	1·3	1,213,368	1·1
Mauritius	1,243,143	1·2	1,092,737	1·0
Holland	1,431,033	1·4	769,048	0·7

It may be added that while the export trade to the Continent of Europe was Rx. 28,667,000, the exports to the United Kingdom in 1895-6 were Rx. 35,001,000. Of course, the relation between India and the United Kingdom is vitally different from that with the Continental countries, and must and does show itself in the exports, which in large measure represent payments to the United Kingdom. Comparing the distribution of Exports with that of Imports we see that with the exception of Germany, there is a great shuffling of places on the list, which

fact is of great interest as an illustration of the working of commercial exchange. On the whole, our commercial intercourse with India has been tolerably well maintained; but, as already pointed out, there are important sections of our imports to India which must and are getting close study and attention.

Space will not permit us to glance at the trade of India in relation to the several provinces and their ports. Nor can we do more than add a word or two respecting the important matter of shipping. In 1891-2 this was a total of 8,590,651 tons: in 1895-6 it had recovered as far as 8,226,600 tons, of which steam represents 85 per cent. The proportion of this tonnage cleared and entered last year to the United Kingdom was 32·4; to British possessions 35·2; and to foreign countries 32·4 per cent. Vessels carrying the English flag took 80·7 of the trade of India last year as against 82 per cent. the previous year. And generally, it may be added, as a stimulus to exertion, that "the tonnage under the German and Austrian flags continues to increase, and last year saw a very large increase in French tonnage, which had been declining for some time previously. This was caused by new services of the Messageries Maritimes calling at Bombay. It is worthy of note that the German and Austrian flags now cover more than half of all the foreign tonnage which enters and leaves Indian ports."

The problems of India, of its trade only, are many and complex. The magnitude of it is so vast, and our interest and responsibility in and for it are so deep that there is no need to call attention to it as a field for the exercise of the highest qualities. And now, while so many of our fellow-subjects are sore stricken by the famine, the glory of this jewel of Empire will be shown not so much in profitable exchange, as in service, in the prompt and liberal supply of the wants of those who suffer. Trade and government should dwell together, and be neighbourly.

A GREAT CIVILIAN AND SCHOLAR.[1]

BY PROFESSOR A. F. MURISON, LL.D.

Sir William Hunter has again done admirable service by this charming record of the public life of a great civilian, an eminent scholar, and a most worthy gentleman. The honours of Indian biography are so largely monopolized by men of military and political achievement that such a marked break in the series, in recognition of no less important work in less prominent fields, is especially welcome. The history of the building of the Indian Empire will remain very incomplete until the more obscure activities of able men in subordinate and undemonstrative posts of duty receive at the hands of historians their just meed of public acknowledgement. Hodgson, of course, was far too great a man to pass away without a distinctive memorial, and he has had happy fortune in finding such a herald of his fame as Sir William Hunter.

[1] "Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson," British Resident at the Court of Nepal. By Sir William Wilson Hunter, K.C.S.I., M.A., LL.D. London: John Murray.

The life of Brian Hodgson all but spanned the century. He was born in Cheshire in 1800, and he died in 1894, in his ninety-fifth year—full of honours as well as of years.

"Had he died seventy years previously, he would have been mourned as the most brilliant young scholar whom the Indian Civil Service has produced. Had he died in middle life, he would have been remembered as the masterly diplomatist who held quiet the kingdom of Nepal and the warlike Himalayan races throughout the disasters of the Afghan war. Had he died at threescore years of age, he would have been honoured as the munificent Englishman who enriched the museums of Europe with his collections, enlarged the old boundaries of more than one science, and opened up a new field of original research."

During the first half of this century, Hodgson was conspicuous among Orientalists, and the learned societies in many countries vied with each other in conferring their distinctions upon him. Yet, with the usual irony of life, "the chief services which Hodgson rendered to his country are the least known." These it has been Sir William Hunter's main object to set forth.

"The story may be wanting in the dramatic effects of the Soldier Political's career, with a treaty in one hand and a sword in the other. But it will disclose certain aspects of the British suzerainty of India not hitherto realised. We shall learn how a young civilian was trained in building up newly annexed districts, left waste by the misrule of a usurping Himalayan Power, into a peaceful and prosperous British province. We shall then see him at his first lessons in dealing with the usurping Power itself. We shall next find him holding back that Power from our frontier, with a nation of warriors exultant at the destruction of our Afghan army and fiercely straining in his leash. We shall watch him thread his perilous way through the intrigues of rival queens, royal kinsmen, and mayors of the palace, guarded solely by his own immovable calm, amid their tragedies of massacre, poisoning, torture, suicide, and exile to the snows. After twenty years of thankless labour we view him emerge from the homicidal scene, followed by the tears of the prince and the acclamations of the people.

"From first to last we find his conduct regulated by two motives—the desire to preserve the integrity of the kingdom to which he was accredited, and the determination to render its integrity a source of strength instead of danger to the British Government."

Leaving aside the details of Hodgson's family and his start in the world, we may content ourselves with noting the governing circumstances of his career. In the first place, he had the supreme luck of inheriting good blood and breeding. Again, he had a noble-minded mother, who impressed permanently some of the finest traits of his mind and character. Then he was fortunate in his Haileybury instructors, especially in the dominant influence of Malthus. "But for the inspiration of Malthus, the youthful civilian would scarcely have embarked on a comprehensive study of the institutions and constitutional problems of Nepal, or struck into the great conflict over popular education in India with a scheme of his own. . . . . The love of liberty and the generous respect for the liberties of others, with a belief in their capacity for exercising those liberties aright, which Malthus impressed on Hodgson's awakening mind, resisted the effacing influences of time and of a bureaucratic career." The permanence of these impressions is well illustrated by an anecdote of his latest years:

"Often the only Liberal in the company of strongly Conservative squires, whenever Gladstone's name was mentioned

at his table, he would lift his glass with a courteous smile to his opponents around him, and say in a gentle voice, 'Here's to Gladstone! God bless him: the greatest statesman of the day.'"

In Calcutta, too, Hodgson fell among good friends, discreet and influential as well; and his first appointment, at Kumaun, among the outer ranges and spurs of the Himalayas, placed him under a strong-handed official, George William Traill, who "trained up successive assistants in the habit of thinking that a frontier administrator knew what was good for his territory much better than any distant central authorities." It was this influence that determined Hodgson's action in the crisis of his diplomatic career, in face of a Governor-General that had quite another way of looking at the matter. At first he was mainly engaged in collecting data for the approaching revenue-settlement, a duty that was afterwards extended to larger social investigations; and "the habit of systematic enquiry into the population, their history, language, social institutions, and economic conditions, which Traill impressed upon Hodgson in his first years of service, became the keynote of Hodgson's whole official career." So important may be the influence of a superior officer in whatever grade. Meantime, common hardships and dangers forged a strong bond of appreciation between the young officer and the natives, to whom his love of sport specially endeared him.

Hodgson first went to Nepal in 1820, and there he remained till 1843, except for a short break in 1822-25. From 1825 to 1833, he was Assistant-Resident, and for the next ten years Resident. Sir William Hunter sketches the history of Nepal, and traces carefully the progress of events under Hodgson's eyes. He shows us Hodgson's indefatigable labours in the collection of statistics on all subjects. He points out how he devised means for relieving the ever growing pressure of the military castes, with the view of diverting valuable energies from dangerous into useful channels. Hodgson agreed with Sir H. Fane, Sir Charles Napier, and Sir H. Lawrence, that the flower of the Gurkhas should be recruited into the English army in India; but his recommendations were in vain. "When the mutiny of 1857 broke upon Northern India," says Sir William Hunter, "the authorities fell back, when too late, on Hodgson's scheme, which would, humanly speaking, have rendered such a catastrophe impossible." His plans for the commercial expansion of Nepal fared better; "an immense development of our commercial relations with Nepal dates from his Reports. The Rs. 3,000,000 of Nepalese imports and exports in 1831 had grown into a Nepalese trade with British India alone of over Rs. 33,000,000 in 1891." Closely connected with his commercial scheme was his elaborate expiscation of the native judicial system, a most valuable enquiry, which won not only the approval of the Governor-General but the public thanks of the Court of Directors. He had won his spurs as Assistant-Resident in most brilliant style, though the brilliance was incidental to the essential usefulness.

To the continued pursuance of the three great purposes already mentioned—the military utilisation of the Gurkhas, the development of Central Asian commerce through Nepal, and a clear understanding with the Nepalese Court as to the conditions regulating home and through commerce and as to the legal status of British-Indian traders — Hodgson as Resident added a fourth main project, the abolition of chronic trouble in our relations with Nepal by means of a reasonable settlement of frontier questions. Meantime, he had a most difficult course to steer amidst the internal intrigues and turbulences of the Native State. At one moment of extreme peril, he undoubtedly saved himself and his Residency from a bloody fate by sheer coolness and address. "If we admire the gallantry, or even the gallant futility, with which Indian envoys have defended themselves by paltry escorts to the last living man, we must yield a yet higher respect to the unmoved civil courage with which Hodgson faced the storm and weathered it." Hodgson received the thanks of the Governor-General in Council "for the marked ability, firmness, and judgment" with which he had acted in most difficult emergencies. But Lord Auckland had Afghanistan on his hands, and had to content himself with energetic warnings to Nepal, and to leave Hodgson to his unaided efforts. Our Kabul force was annihilated. Lord Ellenborough succeeded Lord Auckland. As to the new Governor-General, Sir William Hunter expresses himself with a restraint that implies keen severity. "History writes of his brief Indian career in the language of indignation." History seems very right indeed. Lord Ellenborough at once came into conflict with Hodgson. "The essential point was that Hodgson had declined, at his own risk and pending further instructions, to carry out orders which in his opinion would have frustrated the policy that Lord Auckland and his Council had built up in Nepal, and which would have imperilled the lives of the peace Ministers whom that policy had raised to office"—orders, moreover, issuing from the blank ignorance of a conceited and impetuous imagination. Hodgson was dismissed. He had performed the barely possible yet invaluable feat of keeping Nepal in hand during the Afghan crisis; but he had suspended the execution of pernicious orders of the Governor-General, in the belief that the latter would presently get clearer notions of the facts—as if such a mind as Lord Ellenborough's could ever accept the clarification of fuller knowledge. It was a monstrous exercise of high-handedness, this dismissal of Hodgson's; and it is only what was to be expected that Hodgson, in spite of some temporising of Lord Ellenborough's and the formal offer to "endeavour to find some other fit situation" for the victim, determined to retire from the service. Sir William Hunter remarks, with obvious contempt as well as censure upon the point, "Hodgson was in fact neither officially recalled nor was his resistance officially condoned." The public despatch of dismissal was sent without the knowledge of the Council; and "a diligent search in the India office Records proves that that despatch, recalling Hodgson, was never brought upon the Consultations of the Government of India, nor reached the Court of Directors at home." But it has been read in evidence before the bar of History, and it covers its

author with the confusion of condemnation. On the other hand, "amid the public sympathy of his brethen of the Service, the praises of his fellow-workers in the fields of private research, and the hearty good wishes of many friends, Hodgson retired from the Indian Service at the age of forty-three." To these voices of approval may now be added the acclamations of posterity. Just Nemesis did not make delay. When Hodgson returned to London, "Why, we will carry you back on our shoulders," was his greeting from the Chairman of the Court of Directors; "Lord Ellenborough has been dismissed."

Fifty years still remained to Hodgson—for work of still greater essential import. "Whether he acted wisely or unwisely for himself" in resigning the Service, says Sir William Hunter, who seems extravagantly cautious in deciding either way, "the world was the clear gainer. There are always a score of men in the Indian Civil Service who make excellent Residents at Native Courts, but there was only one man in India who could do the work which Hodgson was destined, during the next fifteen years, to accomplish for Oriental literature and science." Sir Joseph Hooker speaks of Hodgson as he found him at Darjiling in the midst of his labours, and mainly as to his work in science:

"By unceasing exertions and a princely liberality, Mr. Hodgson has unveiled the mysteries af the Buddhist religion, chronicled the affinities, languages, customs, and faiths of the Himalayan tribes, and completed a natural history of the animals and birds of these regions. His collections of specimens are immense, and are illustrated by drawings and descriptions taken from life, with remarks on the anatomy, habits, and localities of the animals themselves. Twenty volumes and the Journals of the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal teem with the proofs of his indefatigable zeal; and throughout the cabinets of the birds and quadruped departments of our national Museum, Mr. Hodgson's name stands pre-eminent. A seat in the Institute of France, and the cross of the Legion of Honour prove the estimation in which his Buddhist studies are held on the Continent of Europe."

Sir William Hunter summarizes Hodgson's work as a scholar in these general terms:

"Hodgson's contributions to scholarship were of three kinds. He was the largest and most munificent collector of manuscripts, ancient texts, and vernacular tracts that ever went to India. He was also an erudite student of the new materials which he thus collected, nor did the originality of his conclusions less impress his contemporaries than the stores of buried learning which he brought to light. Having gathered together his data and used them so far as his hard-earned leisure allowed, he handed them over to the learned societies of India and Europe in trust for scholars who could bring to their investigation the final processes of original research. His magnificent liberality enriched not only the British Museum, the India Office Library, and the Asiatic Societies in Great Britain and in India, but also the Institute of France and the Société Asiatique de Paris with treasures which have not even yet been completely explored."

A sentence or two will give further glimpses of the varied and valuable activity of Hodgson. "With some European scholars, Hodgson's ethnological work ranked as the chief service which he rendered to the world. Latham, Schleicher, Lassen, Max Müller, Professor Owen, Dr. Barnard Davis and others welcomed his discoveries as a new revelation. . . . . The admiration which he enjoyed from Aryan scholars in Europe during the thirties, he again won from non-Aryan scholars during the fifties." His ethnological papers "would of themselves suffice for the sole labour of an industrious life." "Yet," says Sir William Hunter, "it is not the bulk of Hodgson's writings that makes the strongest impression on one who, like myself, has examined them as a whole. It is rather the original character of the materials which they furnish and of the sources whence they were drawn"—together with the enduring influence of "the personality of the man." Again, "a magnificent series of contributions to scientific journals . . . . gradually elevated him to the highest rank of original ornithologists of his day." And, finally—to pass over much that is memorable—"of the four million pupils in Indian schools and colleges recognised by the State in the last year of Hodgsons, three and a half millions were receiving education entirely in the vernacular, and the remainder partly in the vernacular and partly in the English language. This was the result for which Hodgson began to labour as a young man of thirty-five, and which he saw accomplished at the age of ninety-four."

Exegit monumentum ære perennius.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

A telegram has been received from the Bombay Presidency Association stating that great indignation is felt by the native community at misleading telegrams, published in England, announcing a public dinner to Mr. M. M. Bhownaggree, M.P., and a Muhammadan demonstration in Bombay. The dinner was in no sense public, and the demonstration was not representative. The native press denounces such tactics, and repudiates Mr. Bhownaggree.

We print on another page an article by Mr. W. M. J. Williams upon the so-called "Foreign Trade of India." It will be noticed that, unlike most British commentators upon Anglo-Indian statistics, Mr. Williams calls attention to the great and growing excess of the export over the import trade. He writes:

"Well would it be for India could she profit on her trade instead of being subject to the drain of an excess export of no less than Rx. 36,000,000 in 1895-6. This drain, too, shows a tendency to increase. . . . . Into the causes of this great drain it is not my province to enquire just here, but in a review of India's trade it should be more prominent than it is in Mr. O'Conor's work."

This admission marks a notable advance in financial criticism. But—as Mr. Williams would doubtless have pointed out if he had been dealing with the subject—the real "drain" is much more serious. For what is called the trade of British India is not really the trade of British India—still less is it trade of British Indians.

In order to ascertain accurately the trade of British Indians allowance must be made for certain factors which cannot be ignored without rendering the figures fallacious and misleading. We may enumerate the most important of these factors as follows:—

(i) A large portion of the so-called exports of British India are really exports of native States. They have nothing to do with British India except that they pass through it;

(ii) A portion—though a small one—of the so-called trade of India is really the trade of frontier territories;
(iii) A considerable portion belongs to European planters and other European companies;
(iv) A considerable portion represents "Home Charges";
(v) A considerable portion represents the home remittances of European officials;
(vi) A considerable portion represents remittances of the profits of European capitalists in India.

In other words the share of the Indian in the so-called trade of India is chiefly to produce the profits—as a hewer of wood and drawer of water—while European capitalists of every kind exploit the resources of British India, and "drain" away the profits to their own country.

Moreover, even when deductions have been made on all these grounds, the residue only seems to be, but is not really, Indian trade. It is still more European than Indian. For the Indians are for the most part helplessly poor, and, lacking capital, are compelled to carry on even their own trade with the money of European banks in India. The truth is that nearly the whole of what are called "Indian Exports" are British profits—the exploitation of British capital in India. India's own share in the matter is (in Lord Salisbury's expressive phrase) to "be bled."

Mr. Justice Vaughan Williams, in the course of the address which he delivered on December 10th, as president of the Leeds Law Students' Society, is reported to have said:—

"Common law was the expression of the national instinct of liberty. That instinct of liberty was illustrated by the fact that wherever Englishmen came in contact with any races of the world they immediately in their government extended to them the great principles of individual liberty and freedom and legal equality. As to India, our best defence and protection undoubtedly was the fact that we had been careful to extend to the people the well-known principle of equality, and he believed the people of India preferred to be governed by England than by any other people in the world." (Cheers.)

And yet the Indian National Congress has so far petitioned in vain for the reform of a system under which one and the same official is public prosecutor, detective, and judge.

In our article upon Mr. Francis Brooks's charming edition of the Greek Lyric Poets (London: David Nutt) we remarked last month that the reader might "amuse himself by piecing together the character of an individual poet, out of the lines that survive, to witness for or against him." In the case of one of the great lyric poets—Bacchylides—the zeal or the good fortune of the British Museum now promises to render such reconstruction, to some extent, superfluous. For the papyrus containing these precious relics of ancient literature is reported to have been discovered in Egypt.

So far as the writing is concerned, the manuscript is said to be in very good condition, being handsomely written in rather large uncial characters on papyrus of fine quality. But unfortunately the manuscript has suffered severely at the hands of its native discoverers, and is torn into many fragments. The date of the manuscript is probably in the first century before Christ. It will be the work of much time to bring the fragments into their proper order, and even when this is done, it is almost certain that much will be seen to have been lost. But with due allowance for mutilation it remains true that a substantial addition has been made to the extant treasures of Greek literature.

AS OTHERS SEE US.

Reviewing our seventh volume (1896), the *Westminster Gazette* described it as "a well arranged file of carefully prepared articles and statistics on Indian matters which must prove of considerable value to politicians and journalists, and others. Our Eastern dependency is a topic on which there is not only much indifference but ignorance in this country. This a course of study of the columns of INDIA might do something to dissipate."

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LONDON, JANUARY, 1897.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

ARCHBISHOP MAGEE said of John Bright that he divided his opponents into knaves and fools, with the third class of bishops, who united the characteristics of both the others. The *Times*, and its imitators from the *St. James's Gazette* upwards, make no such nice distinctions. Those who differ from them are bad as well as stupid. These austere censors, as we remark elsewhere, have recently paid, with exemplary punctuality, their annual tribute of abuse to the Indian National Congress. As surely as December comes round and the Indian and Anglo-Indian journals record the preparations which are being made for the approaching Congress, the campaign of monotonous calumny begins. The allegation that "only slight interest is being shown" in the Congress is but the least tremendous charge against it. It is "an essentially silly business," it "seems to be approach-"ing an end worthy of its life," "bankruptcy is "hanging over it," for it is proved to be "a com-"bination of baboo vanity and intrigue with English "twaddle." The writers of this polished invective, who have never been able to understand that epithets, like blank verse, are not argument, seem to us to be even less happy in their logic than in their vocabulary. One moment they describe the Indian National Congress as too insignificant for serious notice. The next they stigmatise a moribund association of conceited fools and bankrupt knaves as the source and cause of all the difficulties that confront the Government of India in any part of the Indian Empire. This attempt to box the compass of contempt and rebuke is not exactly convincing. Equally unsuccessful is the endeavour to confuse the financial position of the Congress at a given moment with the intrinsic importance of its political demands. There is a story, true or fictitious, of a Balliol undergraduate who, upon being invited by Jowett to compete for the Hertford scholarship, promptly asked: "What is it worth?" That, it would seem, is the test which the *Times* and its echoes choose to apply to a political movement. "How much "money can it show?" "What is it it worth in "hard cash?" Such questions tend to throw light upon those who ask them. The Congress is supported, and will continue to be supported, not by wealthy men who have axes to grind, or decorations to expect, but by a disinterested rank and file who, in spite of all the arts and even the actual intimidation of a bureaucratic Government, dare to come forward boldly in the interests of enlightened, economical, and sympathetic administration. Finally, and this after all is the root of the matter, our critics in the newspapers direct their shafts, not against the actual Congress and its actual proposals, but against a purely mythical Congress, the unamiable offspring of their own imaginations.

Against the wild rhetoric of prejudiced ignorance it is instructive to place the considered judgment of impartial critics who speak with authority upon Indian affairs. Sir W. W. Hunter, whose words we commend to the *Times*, says that the Congress represents a political power in India which no Indian statesman and no Indian member of Parliament can afford to disregard. "The Indian Congress is "essentially the child of British rule, the product of "our schools and Universities. We have created "and fostered the aspirations which animate the "Congress, and it would be both churlish and "unwise to refuse now to those aspirations both our "sympathy and our respectful consideration." It was in a similar spirit that Lord Lansdowne, as Viceroy of India, described the Congress as a perfectly legitimate movement representing what in Europe would be called the Liberal party. For a more detailed examination of the composition and the aims of the Congress we need only turn to the vigorous and searching article which Sir Richard Garth, formerly Chief Justice in Bengal, and a strong Tory to boot, contributed to the *Law Maga-*

zine and Review for February, 1895. Sir Richard Garth went so far as to say that—

"Of all the many acts of injustice which have marked the conduct of the Government of India of late years, there is none, in my opinion, which can at all compare with their insolent treatment of the Indian National Congress. There is no subject, I consider, upon which the English press and the English public have been so cruelly and persistently misled by the Government party."

Sir R. Garth's article was by way of reply to the late Sir George Chesney, the writer of an attack upon the Congress, couched in language than which Sir Richard said that he could hardly conceive anything more calculated to wound the feelings and excite the disaffection of a people keenly sensitive to ridicule and insult. If that is not the deliberate purpose of journals like the *St. James's Gazette*, their tone does something less than justice to their intentions. Sir Richard Garth went out to India in 1875 believing that the Government of India was a model of paternal rule. He was, of all men, one of the least likely to take too "advanced" a view of the facts and the possibilities. Yet this is his description of what the *St. James's Gazette* denounces as "a combination of baboo vanity and intrigue with "English twaddle":

"The Indian National Congress is a large, influential, and important assembly of earnest and patriotic gentlemen, who, since 1885, have at the close of each year met at one or other of the large centres in India, such as Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay, to discuss their political views and opinions."

Sir Richard Garth found that the Congress consisted of delegates from every part of India, that several millions of men took a direct part in the election of these delegates, and that they were thoroughly representative not only of the various ranks and professions but also of the various religions of the Indian people. Moreover, he added:

"I know many native gentlemen of high rank and position, who, although thoroughly favourable to its views, have been deterred from taking as direct and open a part in the Congress proceedings as they would have wished to do, by the determined jealous hostility which the Government have manifested towards the movement."

It is much easier to indulge in audible sniffs, not to say promiscuous abuse, than to look into the facts. Sir Richard Garth adopted the latter, and more arduous, course. He asked Sir George Chesney what he had to say to the Indian Councils Act of 1892. That reform, as Sir R. Garth pointed out, was entirely due to the persistent efforts of the Congress, which proposed it at the first meeting in 1885, pressed it in vain upon successive Governments, and finally had the satisfaction of seeing it passed into law. By an odd coincidence Sir George Chesney, who pleasantly described the supporters of the Congress as a set of inept blundering political charlatans, took credit to the Government of India for passing this measure, though they had steadily resisted it as long as they could. And so it is with all the proposals which make up the Congress programme. If our critics would only look into them, instead of girding at them, they would be compelled to admit their essential equity, usefulness, and moderation. Sir Richard Garth enumerated many of them, and entirely approved them. The Congress asks for the separation of judicial and executive functions. "It is," wrote Sir Richard, "almost "impossible to conceive the injustice that has been "worked in India by uniting these powers in the "same official." Similarly, the Congress asks for less extravagance in military expenditure, for reform in the police administration, for a Legislative Council for the Punjab, for reduction of the home charges, for the appointment of barristers instead of civilians to some of the district judgeships, and for the establishment of military colleges in India. What could be more moderate and reasonable? The late Chief Justice of Bengal weighed these demands, and not only expressed his own concurrence in them, but declared that they were "approved by thousands "of well-informed, educated gentlemen, who, I "take leave to say, with all respect to Sir George "Chesney, know quite as much about their merits "as Government officers." The twelfth Congress is announced to meet at Calcutta on December 28th and following days. At the time of writing we have not the report of its proceedings before us. But the subjects selected for discussion, which we set out in "Indiana," are to a great extent repeated from previous years. That is the pathos of Indian politics. Educated Indians, speaking not only on behalf of themselves, but also on behalf of the dumb millions of their fellow-countrymen, urge year after year demands which, far from being satisfied, are habitually dismissed with insolence and intolerance, and without anything remotely resembling fair consideration. Yet here, as Sir Richard Garth said, is an open, honest, and loyal means of making the views and wishes of the most intelligent section of the Indian people known to the Government. Now, we do not believe that the Congress is "ploughing the sands." Some progress has been made, some influence upon Parliament and public opinion is clearly visible. This influence made itself manifest in the storm of indignation which greeted the recent "meanness" in the Sudan. But the rate of progress is deplorably slow. One thing is certain. If the rulers of India, whether at Whitehall or at Simla, persist in closing their eyes to this indication of the drift of Indian political opinion, and in closing their ears against the equitable and tentative requests of the flower of the Indian people, they will deserve the consequences of their acts, however dire those consequences may be.

THOMAS CARLYLE.[1]

TIME, says Mr. Traill in his interesting introduction to the first volume of the new Centenary Edition, has been swift to deliver his final verdict on the literary greatness of Carlyle. "The appeal of his "posthumous detractors is dismissed with costs." The admirer of Carlyle who hails this decisive announcement with delight may find his joy abated as he reads further. He may even fall to wondering whether Mr. Traill is not himself amongst the "posthumous detractors." The case, he will perhaps be disposed to think, is not yet settled, and Mr. Traill, under the guise of counsel for the defence, has really been guilty of *praevaricatio*, the crime of collusion with the parties to the appeal. For Mr. Traill is wonderfully eager to make concessions. Carlyle "has now become a prophet whose pro-"phecies are of little account"; he is "neither "prophet nor doctor—no, nor yet philosopher "either"; "all of his supposedly didactic and much "even of his hortatory influence is extinct." He is "simply a great master of literature who lives for "posterity by the art which he despised." The influence of teacher, preacher and prophet has passed away—that is the concession; the literary influence remains and will remain—that is the claim put forward. Before we assent or demur, it seems advisable to define our terms. What is meant precisely by "literary" influence? Is it meant that Carlyle's greatness rests upon the form, not upon the matter of his writing—not upon what he says but upon the way in which he says it? This would be a strangely paradoxical claim to advance for one whose style is often admittedly an uncouth jargon, and who has made, in Mr. Traill's own judgment, practically no impression upon English prose. But this does not appear to be precisely Mr. Traill's meaning. He has admirably put the case for Carlyle's heresies of style in a sentence, when he says that "the *adequacy* of the medium of expression "to the thing to be expressed must always be the "first consideration." He would probably assent to the dictum of the late Mr. J. A. Symonds, that even in poetry, "though style is an indispensable condition "of success, it is by matter and not by form that a "poet has to take his final rank." If this is true of poetry, it is *a fortiori* true of prose. The master of literature, whether in prose or poetry, "must" (to quote Mr. Symonds still) "have placed himself in "accord with the permanent emotions, the con-"servative forces of the race; he must have uttered "what contributes to the building up of vital struc-"ture in the social organism, in order to gain more "than a temporary or a partial hearing." And when we look about in Mr. Traill's essay for hints of the qualities that attract him in Carlyle, we find mention not only of "eloquence and pathos and humour and "vivid portraiture and picturesque description" but also of "spiritual refreshment." The last phrase is sufficiently ambiguous, but it would seem to point to something beyond literary form. Yet if we once admit that whilst both are essential, matter is even more important than form, it is hard to see how we help Carlyle's claim to greatness by repudiating his prophetic, didactic and hortatory power.

After all, it is not Time, but only Messrs. Chapman and Hall who have given authority to Mr. Traill to publish a verdict to the world. Time's verdict is hardly forthcoming as yet. It so happens that within the last year or two, appreciations of Carlyle have been written by two men of letters equally eminent with Mr. Traill, and their estimates do not wholly agree. Mr. Saintsbury, in his history of Nineteenth Century Literature, pronounces Carlyle "the greatest English man of letters of the century "in prose." He admits "a wave of neglect," due partly to the revelations of Mr. Froude, but asserts "with fulness and calmness of assurance" that the wave will pass. The qualities that move him in Carlyle are his indignation, his laughter, his tenderness. As for Carlyle's style, when he is at home in his subject, it is "the very sword of Goliath." It will be seen that Mr. Saintsbury's verdict is not dissimilar from Mr. Traill's, except that he avoids the mistake into which Mr. Traill appears to fall, when he speaks as though matter were the accident and form the only essential part of literature. But Mr. Frederic Harrison's verdict, given in his "Studies of Early Victorian Literature," is curiously different. He asks the question whether Carlyle's works belong to "that class of books which attain an enduring "and increasing power" (he instances, among others, Plato's "Republic," Aristotle's "Ethics and Politics," the "Thoughts of Marcus Aurelius," and Gibbon's "Rome"), or to "that class which effect great "things for one or two generations and then become "practically obsolete." And he answers his question by expressing the opinion that Carlyle's masterpieces will "ultimately tend to the second class "rather than to the first." Why? Is it because he believes with Mr. Traill that their didactic and hortatory power have passed away, and does not believe with Mr. Traill that their literary form will ensure their immortality? That cannot be the explanation. Mr. Harrison's list of books that "attain "an enduring and increasing power" happily precludes all doubt on this point. Nobody has even suggested that Aristotle's Ethics owe their permanent power to their style. No, Mr. Harrison's

[1] "The Works of Thomas Carlyle." In thirty volumes. Centenary Edition. Vol. I., "Sartor Resartus." London: Chapman and Hall.

list is quite conclusive proof that he shares the belief of Mr. Symonds, that it is "by matter and not by "form" that a writer must "take his final rank."

Evidently our most distinguished critics are not in accord as to the position of Carlyle, and Mr. Traill has been a little hasty in assuming that Time has delivered his verdict. Every thoughtful criticism, however tentative, helps to prepare the way for the final summing-up, whenever the precise moment for that shall arrive; and there is much in Mr. Traill's criticism that is helpful, if there is something that is misleading. In so far as he lays stress on form to the disparagement of matter, in so far as he uses "literary" (as only the enemies of literature should use it) to suggest the opposition between "words" and "things," he is darkening the issue and delaying the verdict. But nothing could be more excellent than his explanation of the secret of Carlyle's amazing influence during the second thirty years of the present century. "The hour and the man had met." Delightful, too, and most helpful to the understanding of the new generation to whom Carlyle's style is neither so attractive as it seemed to their fathers nor so repellent as it seemed to their grandfathers, is the account of the bewilderment of the older and the joy of the younger among Carlyle's first readers. And, finally, the few pages that deal with "Sartor "Resartus" will enlighten the student considerably as to what he must, and what he must not, expect to find there.

That Carlyle's influence will never again be quite what it once was, most critics will now agree. This is certainly not altogether because his prophecies and his teachings are discredited. It is rather because much of his thought has been assimilated, partly through his direct influence, partly through the influence of Mr. Ruskin and others. On the other hand, we have in some respects advanced beyond his point of view. Especially we have learnt from the doctrine of evolution and the conception of a "social "organism" that the "great man" theory is not an adequate explanation of the history of the race—that it does an injustice to the unrecorded efforts of the forgotten dead. But as long as man has to live by faith and not by sight, and as long as all souls that cannot rest contentedly on the surface of things must face the stress of deep waters before they win to the shore, so long will such a history as that which tells of Teufelsdröckh's passage from "The Everlasting "No" to "The Everlasting Yea" be fraught with profound meaning, and appeal to each new generation with scarcely diminished force. Of this sort are the things that "contribute to the building up of "vital structure" in the individual and in the race, and their power does not easily pass away.

The centenary edition, which has furnished the occasion for these remarks, deserves a word of hearty praise. It is most beautifully printed, and issued at a most reasonable price, and will certainly do more than a little to turn back the temporary "wave of neglect." The lover of epigram will be pleased to find that the publishers have adhered to the traditional number of volumes. It would have been a pity if Mr. Morley's brilliant and memorable saying about "the Gospel of Silence complete in "thirty octavo volumes" had lost something of its point.

A REVERIE ON A BLUE BOOK.

The "Statistical Abstract for India" has just been published. It is one of a triplet to which the Stationery Office gives existence every year. They are named Home, Colonial, and India respectively, and are uniformly clad in short blue, all with a strong family likeness, but all with individual characteristics.

I open that for India. It cannot be said that the contents have a great attractive force. One feels much like a man who has taken his fill at a feast and is then and there asked to sit down to a banquet. At first all seems confusion too. The maze at Hampton Court is a standing puzzle to child thought, but here is one to the grown man. To enter upon it is like to the entrance to a vast, tangled, pathless forest. Yet let us venture in, we may meet with adventures worthy to be told to others.

Vast, I said, and that must be repeated. Information is offered in this tome, not in nuggets, but in great headlands and promontories. This is the highly salted sea into which the streams of detailed information have been made to run from many a department, and where by an evaporative process a highly concentrated residue is left for those who can use much that is strong and thick. In short the Statistical Abstract is a compendium of India in a small Blue Book. The great dependency is set forth in Arabic signs we use to denote number. To those who can thus acquire a knowledge of affairs, here are 300 pages of closely sifted and printed figures setting forth the condition of India from 1885-6 to 1894-5, a period of ten years. Here are 43 pages given to the "Population," and at once one is brought up short by the magnitude. According to the Census of 1891, the British Territory under the Government of India contains 221,172,952 inhabitants, while the Native States under its supervision had 66,050,479, or a total of 287,223,431. The senses almost reel as we again consider this strange phenomenon in government where 287 millions find a tolerable, even a welcome rule compared with the past, from a far-off people in the Western Seas, who number but 40,000,000 all told. This immense population occupies 1,560,160 square miles of territory, ranging from Himalayan snow to the torrid plain in temperature, which averages about 184 to the square mile, though some parts are much more densely populated, such as Madras Native States 385, North-West Provinces 436, and

Bengal 471 to the square mile. Burma (Lower) with its 4,658,627 inhabitants show only 53 to the square mile, and Upper Burma, one of our latest acquisitions on a large scale, with its 2,946,933, only about 35 per square mile. As this last and some other minor acquisitions were not included in our Indian dominions in 1881, it is not possible to give an exact comparison without entering into detailed analysis. The grand total of the inhabitants, however, has gone up from 253,793,514 to 287,223,431 in 1891, an increase of more than 13 per cent. during the decade. The mixed character of this huge population may be imagined, but is realised to some extent, but by no means adequately apprehended, when we think of the Religious divisions of the people, who comprise Hindus, Muhammadans, Aboriginals, Buddhists, Christians, Sikhs, Jains, Parsis, Jews and others. And of course this is a very cross division of the multitude, who under each head would afford more than a lifetime's study. Of the 287,223,431 only 2,284,380 are said to be Christians. Both in the British Territory and in the Native States the males outnumber the females, though the remarkably even bisection of the race into male and female is seen here also, when this great number is divided into 146,727,296 males and 140,496,135 females. To study this aggregate of human beings in relation to *marriage* is to find some very significant and characteristic things—such as 65 millions of males and 43 millions of females single. The number of males and females married is rather surprisingly returned as about equal, viz., 62 millions of each. There are 13 millions of males and 11,700,000 females whose position is "unspecified." But again, in a "widowed" state, we find 6,412,483 males, and so large a crowd as 22,657,429 females. As many widows as 17,314,000 are Hindus, and 4,181,000 are among the Muhammadans. This is a fearful state of things and one which rulers would willingly see removed were it possible to do so. As to the "unspecified" they serve to remind us that much has yet to be done to make the Indian Census reliable. Regarding the population in relation to ages, there seems a rapid decay, as usual, above 44. And again with regard to the sexes, we find, by taking them from under 5, from 5 to 14, from 15 to 24, from 25 to 44, from 45 to 59, and from 60 and over, there is a preponderance of males in each section save the first and last. Babies under 5 and aged people over 60 give a majority of females, as though to suggest a better fighting quality *in extremis*, when the battle is hard. Of the *Occupations* of the people, it is seen there is a considerable variety, but the characteristic one is Agriculture and "earth work and general labour," in which five-sevenths of the inhabitants are engaged. To think of these peoples, with regard to Language and Education, is still further to stir one's wonder. It is to be noted, too, that the population of *towns* throughout the dependency has almost everywhere considerably increased. This applies to 2,035 towns, ranging from 3,000 to 100,000 or more inhabitants.

With regard to Justice, on the *Civil* side there is evidence that the peoples of India have a moderate capacity for litigiousness. From 1885 to 1894, the number of suits had arisen from 1,875,000 to 2,227,000, and the value of the property pending from Rs. 17,73,94,392 to Rs. 24,72,72,721. About 1 in 140 of our Indian fellow subjects try conclusions at law. On the *Criminal* side, in 1885 there were 1,200,000 offences reported, and 1,323,000 persons brought to trial; these figures in 1894 were 1,415,000 and 1,706,744 respectively. This is not a satisfactory result of a decade's work, for with a population increased by 13 per cent., we have persons criminally charged growing 29 per cent. Though about one-half of the persons charged were acquitted, this proportion in the increase of crime is not improved thereby, the figures for those convicted at the different periods being 621,000 and 822,000, or a growth of criminality of over 32 per cent. One is inclined, nevertheless, to ask whether procedure, especially in out-of-the-way districts, is as judicial as it might be? The *Punishments inflicted* range from fines, imprisonment for a few days up to two years, whipping, transportation, up to death. The total *Cost of Police* has increased from Rs. 2,39,38,632 in 1887, to Rs. 2,80,00 444 in 1894. The cost of *Guarding and Maintaining Prisoners*, exclusive of cost of Building, Repairs, etc. (which, we presume, will be charged to Public Works), was Rs. 44,62,100 in 1887, and Rs. 55,45,565 in 1894, and this distributed under the heads of Rations, Establishments, Police Guards, Hospital Charges, Clothing, and Contingencies. Here, again, we notice an increase of about 25 per cent.

A very interesting subject, and one which it would be well for British people to know in detail, is that summed up in two pages under the head of *Registration of Property*. A glance is sufficient to show how large a business is done, and that it ranges to almost all the chief divisions of the vast dependency. Number of Registrations is given for the years 1889-90 to 1894-5, and these are divided into compulsory and optional registrations of Immoveable Property and other registrations. In 1889-90 there were 1,802 registration offices, at which 2,155,525 registrations were recorded dealing with Rs. 47,75,68,403 of Immoveable and Rs. 5,82,46,797 of Moveable Property, or a total of Rs. 53,58,15,200. But in 1894-5 there were 1,945 offices, at which 2,710,751 registrations were recorded; and they dealt with Rs. 61,17,01,887 of Immoveable and Rs. 5,78,57,969 of Moveable Property, a remarkable rise in the transactions relating to Immoveable Property. We repeat that the system of registering immoveable property has been too long unknown here. It should be general.

The spell of these serried relentless pages of figures, even though they suggest India and its dependencies, is, for the present, losing its hold upon me, and I must hasten to add a few words on the Revenue and Expenditure, leaving untouched, at any rate for this occasion, such interesting subjects relating to this vast field, as Coinage, Agriculture, Railways, Post Office, Education, Trade and Tariff, and many others. In ten years—1884-5 to 1894-5—the *Revenue* raised was in *Tens of Rupees*, 844,209,148 in India and 3,943,821 in England, or a total in ten years of 848,152,969. But whereas only 70,609,681 was raised at the beginning, at the end of the decade the sum raised was 95,187,429, a rise of

34 per cent. and more. There was *Expended* in ten years 847,687,643, of which 228,195,430 was expended in England (including Exchange); but whereas in 1884-5 the sum spent was 70,077,127, in 1894-5 no less a sum than 94,494,319 was expended, which is again a rise of above 34 per cent. This must not be deemed satisfactory without a justification more ample than can be extracted from such an abstract as the book in blue. The population is growing at the rate of 13 per cent. the Revenue and Expenditure at more than 34 per cent. and the rise in criminality is concurrent with that on Expenditure. We have not at hand any respected estimate of the wealth of India at the comparative periods, nor have we the means of establishing the connexion between criminality and a bold frontier policy with its attendant large increase in expenditure. But without insisting on the causal origin of these things, these social phenomena in themselves are worthy of reconsideration. My reverie is at an end; it has given me a peep at the glory of the great jewel of the British Crown—India! vast, weird, alluring. At the same time glimpses have been afforded me of the life and government of this matchless realm, which have not been altogether pleasurable, nor even reassuring. It is no child's play, indeed, to keep this large family at peace, to attend to its food, to maintain place and power of so huge and so varied a possession; but, having been given the task and having accepted it, having, too, found large measure of acceptance in the eyes of those myriads of these plains and hills, in the light of day, and before the sun goes down, let us make an effort, both in policy and administration, to uphold the brightness of this jewel by maintaining in safety and in prosperity every human facet it contains.

W. M. J. W.

NOTES ON LORD WELBY'S COMMISSION.

The *Daily News*, in its article on the first Report issued by Lord Welby's Commission, wrote:—"Special interest attaches to the evidence of Sir Auckland Colvin and Sir David Barbour. Both of these experts have held the office of Financial Member of the Viceroy's Council—one from 1883 to 1887, the other from 1888 to 1893—and they appear to agree in the opinion that the existing machinery for the control of Indian expenditure is defective, and that the Government of India does not pay sufficient attention to financial considerations. Englishmen are naturally, and rightly, reluctant to recognise any shortcomings in the Government of India and the Indian Civil Service, of which we are all, with good reason, proud. At the same time, it is not difficult to perceive that in a country where the taxpayers have little or no voice in regulating expenditure, one potent check, at any rate, upon the purse-strings is missing. At home we have confidence in the heads and the permanent officials of our spending departments. But we like, nevertheless, to discuss the Estimates, not because we doubt anybody's integrity, but because we know that official zeal—say at the War Office—may run beyond our means, or take a direction of which, as taxpayers, we cannot approve."

Having summarised the evidence of Sir H. Colvin and Sir D. Barbour, the *Daily News* said:—"The question is, what is 'undue interference,' and how is it to be avoided? Will Lord Welby and his colleagues undertake the difficult and delicate task of marking out a safe *via media* between the Scylla of undue Parliamentary interference and the Charybdis of 'insufficient attention to financial considerations?' Perhaps Sir David Barbour helps to point the way. He believes (question 2,235) that 'it would be a very good thing if, when Parliament had to do with Indian affairs, it appointed a Select Committee to report from time to time upon particular things.' But this suggestion is subject to a general caution which he states forcibly enough (question 2,183): 'I have the highest opinion of the value of the general control of Parliament over Indian expenditure; I think I may say I have almost a terror of its interference in details.'"

We take the following from the comments of the *Manchester Guardian* upon the first Report of the Commission:—The most interesting fact brought out in Sir David Barbour's evidence is that the Viceroy holds the supreme control in financial affairs. If he is disposed to exercise economy, expenditure is kept down; if otherwise inclined, it is "liberal." In answer to a question as to the influence of the Military Department in India, Sir David said:—

> "It is a very strong department, and it has the control of a great deal of expenditure; but I do not know that it is the strongest department. The fact is that to understand the Indian system of government you must realise the very great power of the Viceroy. His power is, for various reasons which I need not go into, very great, and if the Viceroy supports the Military Department, that department is the strongest; and whether much attention is paid to financial considerations or not depends entirely—or almost entirely—on the Governor General for the time being."

This striking testimony can hardly fail to have due prominence in the report of the Commission, and it goes far towards confirming the view which was long ago expressed with much emphasis by Mr. Fawcett of the necessity for a more constant exercise by Parliament of its right of control of Indian affairs, and in particular of important financial questions.

There was a passage in the first leading article in the *Daily Telegraph* of December 23rd, which is worth recording by way of appendix to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's well-known contentions. The writer said:—"In recent years a due sense of the immense importance of India to the Empire has spread through all intelligent British minds. It is realised on every side now that what gives England her highest dignity and proudest prestige among civilised, and, indeed, uncivilised, peoples is her charge of that superb dominion, which—unique in imperial, historical, ethical, and commercial advantages—adds the diadem of the East to the coronet of the West, and to the sceptre of the seas. If, therefore, India really needed that England should give of her wealth and stores 'with both hands,' anything which could be achieved by distant and diplomatic philanthropy, like the well-meant collection of funds in Russia, would in one week, nay, in a single day, of London's beneficence, let alone that of the country at large, be quickly quadrupled." The admission is noteworthy. Of course, what India asks is not charity but justice.

THE FAMINE IN INDIA.

"THOUSANDS ARE DYING."

INDIA "BURDENED WITH PERILOUS EXPENDITURE."

SUGGESTIONS FROM THE POONA SARVAJANIK SABHA.

THE OPTIMISM OF LORD G. HAMILTON.

We summarize below the telegraphic information received from India since the issue of the December INDIA.

On November 30th the Viceroy telegraphed that no rain had fallen in the distressed districts since his telegram of November 24th. "The rain has come too late to do much good to autumn crops, but in time for late sowings."

A Calcutta telegram dated December 11th, said:

"The weekly reports state that the prospects in Upper Burma, North-West Central India, and the Punjab continue gloomy. The number of persons at present employed on the relief works is about 240,000, including many men who are receiving gratuitous relief in North-West Rajputana and Central India."

On December 12th the Viceroy telegraphed that there had been no rain during the period under report in affected tracts, except a few scattered showers. He added, however, that prospects were somewhat brighter in the North-West Provinces and in Bombay.

A Calcutta telegram, dated December 23rd, stated that the rainfall had had little or no effect in lowering the prices of food grains, which were still at famine rates throughout Bengal.

We print in "Indiana" the telegram of December 25th, referring to the statement of Mr. J. P. Goodridge (a member of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress) as to the grave condition of affairs in the Central Provinces.

Obviously, there is little in all this to justify the rather premature cheerfulness which is beginning to show itself in some quarters.

We have received the following from an Indian correspondent at Benares:

"My heart aches when I sit down to write this letter to you. Wheat which thirty years ago was sold in this country at forty seers a rupee, is sold in our market to-day at seven seers a rupee. My mother who is five-and-fifty says that except for four or five days in the dark days of mutiny, when nothing could be had in the market, she never dreamt of such calamities. Misery and hunger have filled the whole country. Great discontent is prevailing. Mark, sir, not one place, but the whole of India is disaffected. Export of our wealth (coin and corn) for years has left nothing in the country. There is no doubt our philanthropic Governors from his Excellency the Viceroy down to every Chief Commissioner, is leaving no stone unturned to meet the requirements of the people. But all their benevolence cannot be so effectual as it ought to be if we were happily living. In an agricultural country like ours, occasional famine is not unnatural. Many a time it did occur. But our past supplies in our houses were serving us sufficiently on such miserable occasions. To-day we are worse than beggars. Let us see how long we are subjected to the existing miseries. The English people in the United Kingdom, ignorant, heedless, and blind to the future consequences, are burdening India with perilous expenditure."

Our correspondent adds:

"The ruling authorities in England, without the least regard for our straitened circumstances, which have been repeatedly represented by the people and also the Indian Government, are too liberal in putting us to perilous expenditure. The people of India are very much aggrieved at the decision arrived at by the Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury in regard to the payment of military expenditure when Indian troops are to be employed on foreign service. The English people must dismiss from their minds the old happy days of India when every Englishman on his return home was more of a Nabob than an Englishman. The cream of Indian wealth is now in Europe. Only the scum is left to us. The State is trying to squeeze even the scum and leave for us something which is not enough to serve even as our subsistence allowance. The extraordinary dearness of corn, heavy taxations, and many other troubles are filling India with discontent. It is a matter of great concern that the people in England are heedless of all these bad circumstances. We are repeatedly and repeatedly crying, and no notice is taken of our poor but loyal and submissive supplications."

An important, and lengthy, memorial has been submitted to the Government of India by that useful and vigilant body the Poona Sarvajanik Subha. Limits of space prevent us from reproducing the memorial in full, but its chief suggestions may be summarised as follows:

(i) That the Government of India should ascertain the stock of grain in the various Provinces and supplement it by importing food-grains from foreign countries;

(ii) That relief should be given, not only to such persons as have become destitute, and are willing to shift their families to relief works, but also to those who, though in a state of semi-starvation, cannot give up their usual employment;

(iii) That small local relief works are more useful than large relief works at a few selected places;

(iv) That the ration allowed to labourers on famine relief works be increased to at least that which is supplied to prisoners employed on public works;

(v) That the provisions of the Famine Code as to suspensions and remissions of revenue, the opening of Government forests for cattle, and the advance of *Tagai* loans to cultivators, be liberally carried out;

(vi) That steps be taken for the preservation of cattle;

(vii) That gratuitous relief be given to children under seven years of age—and not at the price of forced religious "conversion";

(viii) That the machinery of the District and the Taluka Boards and Municipalities be used for consultative and administrative purposes in the matter of famine relief;

(ix) That important statistics and other information relating to famine be regularly published in the form of a supplement to the *Government Gazette*.

A distinguished Anglo-Indian writes to us:

"I have now served in three 'famines' and was neighbour to a fourth. I don't care to say anything about parts of India where I have not served; but in the part of the Bombay Presi-

dency which is affected at present the village organisation is still very strong, and the Government system is one quite consistent with the proper use of village officers. I hope that there will be no repetition of the 'distance test.' However, as to 'wandering,' there is a danger of people here confounding it with normal *migration*. There is nothing better for the people of Western India than the custom by which great numbers annually leave their villages in the dry weather to seek employment, returning at the end of May or early in June. They get their pockets filled and their eyes opened by a natural and voluntary movement.

"Probably the very best relief in 1877-8 was that given in the Tanna and Kolaba districts by public works that had no nominal connexion with the famine; and by private agricultural employment. The Tanna occupants got good prices for their rice; and they spent a good deal of this in paying migrants from above Ghat for labour (both of men and cattle) in the extension of rice fields.

"The case is pretty much as if one were to see a woodcock in Gloucestershire at this season. One would think him a bird that had *found his way there*. If one saw an Arctic ptarmigan one would know that he was there because he had *lost his way*. Yet the woodcock and ptarmigan might well have been natives of the same district in the north. I hope that the Government of Bombay won't keep the woodcocks in the villages or take the ptarmigans out of them, further than they would move of themselves.

"I think the Bombay people ought to be able to handle their famine easily enough. Most of the senior collectors and commissioners saw '77, and, a year or two ago, and another time before I left the distress in the south was quite sharp enough for a 'rehearsal.' They have plenty of railways now, double the roads we had; and they have not got the curse of ——— over them. The great number of recent retirements has put all districts in the hands of men still young and active; and all native establishments are twice as good as they were, including even the village accountants."

The Lord Mayor of London received, on December 21st, the following letter from Lord George Hamilton, the Secretary of State for India:

"India Office, Whitehall, December 21st, 1896.

"My Dear Lord Mayor,—I have now received a further telegram from Lord Elgin at Calcutta on the subject of the Mansion House Fund for the sufferers by the famine in India, which you have so generously offered to set on foot as soon as the necessity arises for supplementing the relief work of the Government of India by private charity.

"The Government of India recommend that for the present and until the situation has more fully declared itself no action should be taken in this country to raise subscriptions. They report that no definite opinion can be formed till the results of the winter rains, which are expected during the next few weeks, are known.

"I shall not fail to let you know as soon as I hear again from the Viceroy on the subject.

"I am, my dear Lord Mayor, yours very truly,

"GEORGE HAMILTON.

"The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor."

Messrs. William Tattersall and James Mawdsley, joint secretaries of the Lancashire Indian Cotton Duties Committee, received on December 23rd the following communication from the Secretary of State for India respecting a proposed Lancashire Indian Famine Fund:

"India Office, Whitehall, London, Dec. 22nd, 1896.

"Gentlemen,—I am desired by Lord George Hamilton to inform you with reference to his letter of November 22nd, that he has now received a further telegram from Lord Elgin at Calcutta, on the subject of the fund for the sufferers by the famine in India which the Cotton Duties Joint Committee have so generously offered to set on foot as soon as the necessity arises for supplementing the relief works of the Government of India by private charity. The Government of India recommend that for the present and until the situation has more fully declared itself, no action should be taken in this country to raise subscriptions. They report that no definite opinion can be formed till the result of the winter rains, which are expected during the next few weeks, are known. His lordship desires me to add that he will not fail to let you know as soon as he hears again from the Viceroy on the subject.

"I am, gentleman, yours faithfully,

"T. HASTINGS."

"Sir Dinshaw Petit, Mr. Tata, Mr. Lakhamidas Khimji and Mulajee Jetha and some other rich men of Bombay have formed themselves into a Syndicate to buy corn and sell it at cheap rates in different parts of the Presidency. The movement is well worthy of generous and high-souled millionaires like Sir Dinshaw Petit and Lakhamidas Khimji. On behalf of the people we express our sincere gratitude to them for their laudable efforts in alleviating the distress of the poor people of the Presidency."—*The Mahratta.*

"Although it may be somewhat cynical to remark, still it is true that this is an excellent opportunity for the Government to make British rule popular in India; and if the Government and the British public come forward to help the poor in their distress it will wipe away many an injustice under which the people are suffering, and create a deep sense of loyalty in their minds for the Queen-Empress and her Government."—*Indu-Prakash.*

The *Indian Mirror* says:

"The plain reason why the Government has decided not to enter the market and purchase grain to sell it at moderate rates is that it could not let its instinct of the philanthropist get the mastery of that of the merchant. There can be no doubt that, if the Government could enter the arena as a grain-trader, the artificial inflation of the price would go down in no time, to the relief of the millions who have now to exist on insufficient food. The Indians discover a world of difference between the British Government and the ancient form of Hindu Government, by the betrayal in the former of a cold, calculating spirit in dealing with matters which involve questions of life and death of the subjects, a spirit which was absolutely absent in the latter. Even to this day a Hindu rajah cannot hesitate to be nobly liberal when the lives of his subjects are at stake. Witness the recent example of Mahárájá Holkar, who did not hesitate to open State grain-shops to afford relief to the people owning allegiance to him as soon as he found that the bunnias in his State had combined and increased the prices to an exorbitant extent."

An Ahmednagar correspondent of the *Times of India* (November 28th) telegraphs:

"A crowded meeting of weavers was held praying for relief for their craft. Thousands are dying of famine, and are ready to live on bare maintenance. Many told heart-rending tales of their grievances at Dahogoan and Chas."

We take the following from the *Westminster Gazette* of December 22nd:

"A letter has been received at Portsmouth from Mr. A. H. Alexander, a former resident, now of Nowgong, Bundelhand, C.I., in the course of which he writes: 'The plague in Bombay and the great famine are the chief topics here. I have practical illustrations of the famine every day, for the villagers come into the town on the chance of keeping themselves alive. Yesterday, while I was driving in the evening, a woman held out her child and let it drop thud on the ground—it was dead. They die on the roads, in the ditches, or outside the gate; and the famine is just beginning now, so that it is one of the problems of the future, what the country will be like in a few months. My brother-in-law had to read the Riot Act the other day at a grain riot, when the troops were called out.'"

INDIA'S RAILWAY SYSTEM AND THE FAMINE.

VIEWS OF AN INDIAN ENGINEER.

Mr. James R. Bell has spent almost thirty years of his life in the development of the Indian railway system, and especially in the building of bridges, a work in which he has been eminently successful. In the pleasant language of Indian civil servants he is described as a "big bridge man," though he has seen service in the irrigation department and military works. I found Mr. Bell quite unwilling, for some occult reason, even to mention the bridges he has built, but since I have trollied across the Chenab Bridge at Sher Shah in his society and have seen the first train cross the great structure, it is justifiable to mention its existence. The Kaiser-i-hind and one other bridge across the Sutlej are known to owe their existence to his skill, as well as the bridge which crosses the Jumna at Muthra. I delicately insinuated that Indian rivers have been known to leave their beds and not return to them, in which cases bridges must be classed as superfluities. Mr. Bell seemed to be of opinion that the matter was not worth discussing with mere journalistic fry, and observed with a shade of coldness that modern engineering required certain rivers to be trained up (and down) in the way in which they should go. I gathered that the contingency to which allusion has been made is most remote, and indeed well-nigh impossible. Mr. Bell is himself the grandson of a famous Scotch engineer, who by his study of ocean currents and the action of the waves was enabled to build harbours where others had failed. I asked Mr. Bell if his knowledge of India was confined to a special province, as is the case with many Indian civil servants. "I have worked all over India, and since my appointment as Consulting Engineer to the Government, it has been my duty to travel in almost every province, including Burma, on the work of inspection."

"Do you mind saying if you saw anything of the famine of 1875?"

"Of course I saw it, having been some years in the country by that time. I have seen more paid for the freight of a cargo of grain borne by a river boat, than the boat itself would have cost the year before. You ask where the famine stricken region is at present. It stretches from Abbotabad, on the road to Gilgit, to Calcutta on the one side and Bombay on the other, but of course every part of that region does not suffer. Famine is bad in the North-West Provinces, notably in Bundilcund and Oudh."

"Is there any special reason why these two provinces should suffer?"

"Bundilcund is mountainous, and does not lend itself to irrigation on a considerable scale. Oudh refused Colonel Forbes' scheme of Sarda irrigation."

"For any good reason?"

"An excellent reason; the cost, to wit. So far as we can see at present, droughts seem to move in cycles. There are sun spots and there are droughts, but no man can yet say what, if any, is the connexion between these phenomena. The famine cycle is probably eighteen years, three of which are marked by scarcity."

"Then perhaps this famine is only beginning?"

"It may be that the worst is yet to come, if the Christmas rains, now due, prove to be disappointing. But to my knowledge there has been great scarcity during 1894-95 and 1895-96. So that if the cycle theory be correct—it needs confirmation—we might be nearing the end. Now, if we make a calculation as to the value of the Sarda scheme, we observe that, hitherto, it would have been unnecessary for 15 out of 18 years, and moreover would yield less than the normal irrigation supply."

"That is rather poor business, is it not?"

"One might even say, very poor. The fact is that irrigation schemes work best when there is plenty of water; in other words, when they are least needed. And then comes in the question of cost: irrigation must be maintained for 18 years only to be used for three. Such a scheme would need to be made compulsory, and the Government may well pause before taking so costly, and one may say unpopular, a step. Irrigating and not irrigating are both beset with difficulties. Irrigation works waterlog the land."

"How do you mean?"

"Make it swampy. The death-rate and fever-rate increase in irrigated countries. The water in the canals leaks out and raises the level of the wells. Men and children die, women appear to live. To counteract the waterlogging, drainage schemes, more or less complete, have been devised, but the cost and drawbacks of irrigation are both very patent. The scheme that requires counteraction has a lack of simplicity about it."

"Then, perhaps, you do not approve the policy of the Government, which is even now employing people on irrigation works as a means of relieving the famine."

"On the contrary, I quite approve it. What is now being done is, as far as I understand the matter, small local irrigation works, not at all on the scale of the Sarda scheme. Moreover, when once famine has broken out, Government must save life where possible, and such works are the least objectionable form of relief; they minimise the necessity for charity. It is well known to those concerned that Government does not get value for the money expended. The people are weak and without stamina, labour is dear when food is dear—sometimes the Government pays in grain—the need for the work can often hardly be called paramount. In value it is worth perhaps a third, at most a half, of what has been paid for it."

"Is it a good plan for Government to pay in grain?"

"Lord Elgin deprecates it. When Government becomes a large purchaser, prices become inflated; so that preference should be given to money payment or orders on the bunnias. Of course, it must be understood that relief works are of no immediate use for an existing famine. If they consist of irrigation, such works may be useful for growing grain in the future; if of railway lines, for carrying produce. But it is patent that neither will at once cause the desert to blossom."

"You have not said much that is favourable to irrigation. How do you regard the making of railways?"

Mr. Bell smiled. "On that topic, I fear I shall

resemble the shoemaker on the benefits of leather. But first, I should just like to allude to the scheme, mostly suggested by irresponsible persons, that since there is a difficulty in moving food to the people, the population should be moved from certain famine-stricken districts to others not so affected. No statesman could seriously consider the proposal. The cost of moving the people, their goods and chattels, the risk of depopulating one district and overpopulating another, form too great difficulties."

"I suppose the ordinary means of transit by bullock cart is out of the question?"

"Quite. If a man starts on a journey of 300 miles, lasting twenty days, the cattle and carter will eat up the load. Transit must be by rail, for though coal is dear in India, its cost is not immediately related to the famine difficulty."

"I suppose one need not ask a railway engineer if a country has enough railways?"

"As you suggest, the question is superflous. Even in England you are making fresh railways, so you may be sure much needs to be done in India. Even the main line communications, the system inaugurated by Lord Mayo, are still not quite complete; two important connecting links are necessary in order to connect irrigated tracts with those that depend on the rainfall. One of these is now in hand, a section of the East Coast Railway which links the irrigation system of the Krishna and Godavery with Orissa, a province which suffered severely from famine in 1865, and through Orissa, with Bengal and Calcutta by the Bengal Nagpur Railway. It is a heavy line, big embankments and enormous bridges. Lord Wenlock has been taken to task by the Indian press for suggesting the completion of this link within a year. It will probably take two and a half years, unless the Government were to lay down a kutcha railway to be completed later."

"You mean incomplete?"

"Yes, temporary. I and others also, I believe, recommended this plan to the Government in 1875 for famine relief. It was not adopted at the time, but in 1879 we made a kutcha railway—rails on the surface, temporary bridges or ferries—across the Sibi desert in the plains of Scinde, between Jacobabad and Quetta for military purposes. There was no water, fuel, food or shelter for the men, but the physical features, flat, baked mud, lent themselves to such a work. We began fifteen days after the Government decided to make the railway. We had completed 136 miles on the 101st day after we started."

"That sounds like quick work."

"There has been nothing done to compare with it, save the work of General Annenkoff in Transcaspia (Northern Turkestan). The Russians have probably now completed 2,000 miles, but I do not think they have averaged one and a third miles daily. And Annenkoff works with a trained military corps, whereas we worked with the untrained Punjabi labouring classes. It has always seemed to me that this speaks highly for the adaptability of the Indian worker."

"Could not the Government make more of these temporary railways?"

"Here and there something might be done, but to-day there are not the same great isolated tracts as we could have connected a few years ago. There is no scope for such work on a large scale, though the scheme is one of great promise for back districts, what the Germans call Hinterländer. We have wandered from the main line communications. The second link I wish to mention is that between Karachi with Jodhpore, Marwar, and Central India generally. Though it is a desert line, it would be a cheap undertaking. Scinde, with its fine system of inundation canals, one of the chief granaries of India, might be of great service to Central India, which is liable to fluctuations in the rainfall. If that connexion existed, Scindia wheat would be drafted through Upper India, past Delhi, as far as Central India. Without it, we shall see what we now see, wheat exported to Europe from Karachi, whilst parts of India are in dire need of it."

"Do native princes see the necessity for such development as you advocate?"

"I quite think so. The Mahárájá Scindia of Gwalior is anxious to develop his country and so are the Mahárájás of Kapurthala and Pattiala, as well as many minor chiefs. But one thing is highly necessary. Such works must be carried on by rupee capital."

"You mean ——"

"That foreign capital must be lent as rupees, and not liable to the fluctuations of exchange. It is Lord Elgin's policy, and necessary under the existing circumstances." C. S. B.

THE BRITISH COMMITTEE OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

REPORT FOR 1895-6.

The annual Report of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress has just been issued to the various Standing Congress Committees in India. After describing the work of the Indian Parliamentary Committee during last Session, the Report continues:—

"Nor is it to be forgotten that the appointment of the Royal Commission which, under the chairmanship of Lord Welby, is now enquiring into the administration and management of Indian expenditure was a concession, though an incomplete one, to the requests put forward by the Indian Parliamentary Committee. Lord Welby's Commission has recently issued the minutes of the evidence which has been laid before it, and the documents which have been handed in by witnesses, together with a formal report stating that the Commission is not yet in a position to submit any recommendations upon the questions referred to it. It had been hoped that an *interim* report might be prepared upon the machinery of Indian financial administration, and the postponement of this report, due to the fact that further witnesses remain to be heard upon the subject in question, is undoubtedly a disappointment. On the other hand, there is more than one feature in the recent history of the Commission which the British Committee of the Indian National Congress is able to regard with legitimate satisfaction. In the first place, the Commission consented to hear the evidence of Dr. K. N. Bahadurji on the important subject of the Indian Medical Service, and it is not

too much to say that the admirable way in which he gave his evidence, and the grasp of his subject which he displayed, left a deep and valuable impression upon Lord Welby and his colleagues. We are glad to record, also, that steps are being taken to secure the attendance of other Indian witnesses, and that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, whose economic contentions have been grossly misrepresented in certain quarters, will himself give evidence before the Commission concludes its investigations. In the second place, the quasi-official majority on the Commission made a notable concession to the party of reform when, reversing their original resolution, they consented to admit representatives of the press to report the evidence. It may of course be said that this is a gain of dubious advantage so far as it means that scope is given to calumny and misrepresentation. But the objection is beside the mark. Misrepresentation began while the proceedings of the Commission were yet 'confidential,' and one of the best safeguards against successful misrepresentation is publicity. Besides, it is impossible to estimate the incidental advantages which accrue from the regular appearance of reports of the Commission in newspapers of repute, and the public interest which, in a greater or less degree, is thereby fostered in Indian questions.

"Needless to say, the British Committee is occupied with the work of the Royal Commission and, still more, with the work, which has been sketched above, of the Indian Parliamentary Committee. But its activities do not end there. Since the preparation of our last Report the Committee has held some forty meetings, each, as a rule, of several hours' duration, in which, apart from the task of dealing with correspondence from India, framing questions for Parliament, and discussing policy with reference alike to Parliament and to the Royal Commission, a considerable body of supplementary work is regularly transacted. So soon, for example, as Indian public opinion upon Lord G. Hamilton's readjustment of the cotton duties became known, the Committee thoroughly investigated the whole matter, communicated with the India Office, and drew up a concise Memorandum setting forth the substance of the Indian grievance and proposing a simple and effective remedy. It was upon this basis that the Indian Parliamentary Committee proceeded in its action in Parliament. A survey of the minute-book of the British Committee shows, frequently and strikingly enough, how that letters from India, after passing through the stages of general discussion, analysis, documentary statement, and public ventilation, have ultimately led to motions for adjournment in the House of Commons. Early in the year the Committee took up the grave question of judicial independence in India, and issued to Parliament and the Press a Memorandum containing a statement of the existing grievance, and a scheme of reform supported by many jurists of authority and distinction. The issue of this compilation, however, was merely a preliminary to more important steps. A formal Memorial to the Secretary of State was drawn up, which it was proposed to supplement with a collection of typical cases clearly showing the evils of the present system, and to present, through the medium of an authoritative deputation, to Lord George Hamilton. Unfortunately, owing to the inevitable delays of communication between India and London, the information necessary to complete the appendices to the Memorial was not accessible until the Session was at the point of ending and the approaching debate on the Indian Budget was engrossing the attention of our friends in Parliament. It was, therefore, decided, to postpone the presentation of the Memorial until the beginning of next Session. Meantime, the Memorial itself is being revised with the view of rendering it as complete and weighty a statement as may be of a demand which the Congress has, from the first, consistently advocated.

"Moreover, the British Committee, which last spring broadened its base by inviting the co-operation of delegates from the various associations of Indian gentlemen resident in London, does not lose sight of the importance of the newspaper press as an instrument in the Indian reform movement. Indian public opinion is now expressed in British India itself with admirable cogency and on an extended scale. What is sorely needed is to give effect to that opinion by bringing it to bear in the United Kingdom upon Parliament and the constituencies, which are the source of power. To this end the co-operation of the press is of much value, and, while we are very far from suggesting that the attention which British newspapers now devote to Indian affairs is adequate either in quantity or in quality—we believe, on the contrary, that it is still lamentably deficient in both respects—we do, nevertheless, observe welcome signs of progress both as to the readiness of important newspapers to give prominence to Indian topics, and still more as to the spirit by which their criticisms are animated. The measure of progress in this direction is not, we submit, the absolute standard of that which ought to be, but rather the relative standard of that which actually was a few years ago. And in this change for the better the British Committee may claim at least some little share. Partly by the regular supply to the Press of 'India' and the various documents issued by the Committee, partly by the prompt communication of interesting intelligence, and partly by co-operation with individual journalists, the Committee has endeavoured, not wholly in vain, to circulate an antidote to official optimism in the newspapers which form the staple reading of the mass of British electors —the political sovereign of the United Kingdom."

"Sir Charles Elliott's reply to the late Mr. Manomohan Ghose's case for separation of the Executive from the Judicial Service, is more ingenious than convincing. Concentration of power in one hand is, he argues, the traditional essence of all Eastern constitutions; and her Majesty's rule would suffer grievously if there were not at the head of each district a representative of hers, to whom all other authorities were subordinate. The people want one man to look up to for redress or appeal; and if they have no such single embodiment of power, the prestige of Government will suffer. It is therefore necessary, for the sake of good government, to combine the District Magistracy, the Revenue Collector, and the Chief Executive Officer, in one and the same person. We believe Sir Charles's argument would

certainly prove too much even for *his* acceptance. If all powers have to be concentrated in the hands of the Collector-Magistrate, why should he not have the highest Civil jurisdiction too? Our Subordinate Judges and Principal *Sadar-Amins*, with appeals from them to the Sessions Judge direct, as well as the criminal appellate powers of the District Judge, are, in this view of things, a grave anomaly from which the prestige of Government must assuredly suffer. As a matter of fact, however, no such evil consequences have resulted; and the independence of our Civil courts is considered and prized by the people as a great boon. Our High Courts are considered to be the palladium of our liberty, and it is to their complete independence and impartiality that much of the confidence the people feel in the impartiality and justice of the British *raj* may be directly traced. The principle of concentration is, in fact, becoming more and more antiquated in India; and though it may have suited rude times and undeveloped governments, it is now too late to revert to it and stem the tide of decentralization and division which has permeated down to our Municipalities and District Boards. In itself, concentration is politically objectionable, specially so in Governments without popular representation. It should certainly not be the aim of an enlightened Government, claiming to be progressive and liberal, to stereotype it. England's avowed aim is to advance, not to fossilize, us. Looking with the eyes of one who has been trained by long association to consider the existing order of things as the most natural one, Sir Charles fails to see the gravity of the evils thereof. His own synopsis of the twenty-one typical cases Mr. Manomohan Ghose cited as illustrations of the evils of combining Judicial with Executive functions, shows that in one case the District Magistrate himself enquired into the case; and then ordering the prosecution, himself tried the case; in two cases he instructed his subordinates as to the extent of the penalty to be inflicted; in two cases he proceeded, whilst trying them, on his own information, which was neither sworn to nor submitted to cross-examination; and in a dozen cases he was the author of irregularities, for which he was taken to task by the High Courts or the Local Governments concerned. . . . Well, all we can say is that different men have different points of view, and that it will not be an easy matter for one who has been a Collector-Magistrate to be easily convinced that the combination of Executive and Judicial functions is harmful to the cause of justice.—*The Indian Spectator*.

Reviews.

A BUDDHIST RECORD.

A Record of the Buddhist Religion, as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (A.D 671-695.) By I-TSING. Translated by J. TAKAKUSU, B.A., PH.D. (Oxford: Clarendon Press.)

Some fourteen years ago Professor Max Müller delivered before the University of Cambridge a course of lectures on "India: what can it teach us?" which were in effect an eloquent plea for the study of Sanscrit literature. In those lectures (and still more in the appendix to them, when they were subsequently published) he dwelt upon the important contribution to our knowledge of Buddhism made by I-Tsing, a Chinese scholar who visited India in the seventh century to learn Sanscrit, to study Buddhism in its purity and to translate some of its sacred books into Chinese. After twenty years' study in India I-Tsing sent home by a Chinese priest a book called "Nan-Hai-Chi-Kuei-Nai-Fa-Ch'uan" or "a Record of the Inner Law sent home from the Southern Sea." Portions of this "Record" were accessible to Professor Max Müller at the time of his Cambridge lectures, having been translated for him by a Japanese pupil at Oxford, Kasawara, who unfortunately did not live to complete his task. Another Japanese Oxonian, Mr. Takakusu, has now achieved a complete translation; and it appears in a handsome volume beautifully printed at the Clarendon Press, with a large map of I-Tsing's route to India and back, and with an introductory letter from Dr. Max Müller, who has taken the greatest interest in the work. The present translator has had the advantage of being able to use the excellent edition of the Chinese Buddhist books lately printed in Japan after a careful collation of the five different editions brought out in China, Corea and Japan. I-Tsing's account of his journey to India is given in his own words in the introduction, and highly interesting it is, though all too brief. Perhaps, as the translator imagines, I-Tsing felt a long account superfluous after the recent work of Hiuen Thsang. If that supposition be correct, what an instructive contrast is suggested between the modesty of I-Tsing and the eagerness of the modern traveller to relate his experiences in print! For Hiuen Thsang, be it observed, had preceded I-Tsing by more than a quarter of a century. If only modern travellers showed the same reluctance to repeat a tale already told, what "oceans of writing and mountains of literature" (to borrow one of I-Tsing's own picturesque phrases) we should have been spared! Many other matters are contained in Mr. Takakusu's elaborate introduction: notes on geographical names, on the Mûlasarvâstivâda School of Buddhism (the school with which this treatise is specially concerned), on the date and text of I-Tsing's work, with tables of Indian literary men and Buddhist teachers compiled from the Record. This last item suggests one of the most valuable features of the Record—the light it throws on what Professor Max Müller has called the Renaissance period of Sanscrit literature, with the latter part of which period I-Tsing was contemporary. In his introductory letter the Professor mentions another point in which Mr. Takakusu's translation has an importance of its own. It may mark the beginning of a truly scholarlike study of Buddhism in Japan. To study the historical origins of one's own religion is to take a great step towards understanding the religion of others, and to render impossible that blind hatred of alien creeds which is the offspring of ignorance and want of imagination.

The Record itself consists of forty chapters, mostly

filled with details of the monastic life and discipline of the Indian Buddhists. I-Tsing's great object was to correct the abuses and misunderstandings of Buddhist rules that had arisen in the Vinaya schools of China. No regulations, whether "About Spoons and Chop-sticks" or "Concerning the mat to sit on," were indifferent to him. But he is not wholly occupied with the "mint and anise and cumin" of religious observance. Broader principles emerge at intervals. Very striking, for instance, is the wisdom of his remarks on the ceremony of chanting.

"The custom of worshipping the Buddha by repeating his names has been known in the Divine Land (China) as it has been handed down from olden times, but the custom of praising the Buddha by reciting his virtues has not been in practice. The latter is more important than the former, because, in fact, to hear his names only does not help us to realise the superiority of his wisdom; whilst in reciting his virtues in descriptive hymns, we may understand how great his virtues are" (p. 152).

Still more noteworthy is his emphatic condemnation of suicide and self-mutilation. He is as clear about the guilt of suicide as Socrates in the "Phaedo." And those who suggest to others this way of escape from life are equally guilty in his eyes. "Those who say to one, "Oh, why do you not throw yourself into the fire?" commit the sin which cannot be undone, just as a broken stone cannot be united" (p. 198). One of the most interesting chapters is the thirty-fourth, which gives a full account of "The Method of Learning in the West." I-Tsing strongly inculcates the importance of diligence in study. He commends to his readers the example of Confucius, who, "by hard study," wore away three times the leather binding of his book of divination. The modern schoolboy, too, has been known to wear away a leather binding three times, but it has not always been accounted to him for a virtue. There must have been a wonderfully high standard of diligence amongst the Brâhmans, some of whom could recite from memory the hundred thousand verses of the Vedas. I-Tsing encountered some who had trained their memories to such perfection, that they could recite anything they had once heard. But the gem of the whole book is the fortieth and final chapter, a perfectly delightful memorial of the author's two teachers, Shan-yü and Hui-hsi. Only a brief extract can be given here, but the whole chapter ought to be read:

"The point of my sword of wisdom was sharpened by them. And by them also my body of the Law was nourished. They were never tired in their personal instruction. Sometimes they taught me throughout the whole night, taking no sleep; sometimes for the whole day, without any food. . . . . The sea of wisdom was in them vast, and stretched far. The grove of meditation flourished luxuriantly. . . . . While I was still young, one passed away, leaving the other behind. Whatever meritorious deeds I may have accomplished, I offer as masses for the deceased. To one I would repay after his death the benefits conferred on me during his life-time. To the other may I be able to requite his kindness in his life-time, though I be far separated from him."

To the translator and the publisher our hearty congratulations are due on the appearance of this interesting and valuable "Record" in an English dress. And if only the years and the centuries might backward run, we should be fain to offer our congratulations to I-Tsing also—yes, and to the gifted teachers of so gifted and grateful a pupil.

RUDYARD KIPLING.

The Seven Seas. By RUDYARD KIPLING. (London: Methuen and Co.)

Soldier Tales. By RUDYARD KIPLING. (London: Macmillan and Co.)

The reissue, under the title of "Soldier Tales," of some of the best stories about our old friends, Mulvaney, Learoyd, and Ortheris, reminds the reader that it is primarily as the poet and interpreter of barrack life that Rudyard Kipling has found favour in the eyes of the public. The almost simultaneous appearance of another volume of verse recalls the question which some five years ago perplexed the critics, "The Devil whispered behind the bricks, Is it Art?" And the spirit of doubt whispered in the ear of the reviewer, Is this poetry? One bolder than the rest solved the riddle by propounding a new test for poetry, namely, finality. He thus evaded the difficulty which his fellows found in assigning to the highest class of literature rhymes in the dialect of the common soldier. It is not difficult to see that the "Barrack Room Ballads" satisfied the condition which was laid down as a new axiom to meet their special case. Yet, in spite of the vicious circle, the critic groping for some canon which should enable him to give an appearance of reasoned truth to the expression of his intuition did actually strike one of the aspects under which poetry may present itself. The perfect command of material, the ability to express thought in such a shape that improvement is impossible, the attainment of finality in form, is certainly one of the attributes of the poet. The choice of material is indifferent provided that the poet has complete mastery of his choice. The use of certain dialects must necessarily offend idiosyncracies of taste. There are many minds which, acknowledging in deference to universal opinion the genius of Burns or the refinement of Stevenson, chafe with almost childish impatience at sight or sound of good Scots.

"There are nine and sixty ways of constructing tribal lays,
And every single one of them is right."

Thus Kipling anticipates criticism on this score, and appeals to authority in support of his claim to rank as

". . . . a tribal singer
And a minor poet certified by Tr....ll."

Though it is doubtful whether a complete definition of poetry will ever be formulated, there are certain other characteristics generally admitted to be essential to true poetry. It should be a "criticism of life," it requires the power of seeing, the synthetic faculty, and in its highest form it postulates, like the highest art, idealism. The greatest poets are to some extent the mouthpieces each of his own age, but they only live in the hearts of the people in proportion to their power of selecting for treatment what is permanent in human nature. Homer lives by appealing to primitive emotions; Shakespeare by that and by his intuitive grasp of the most profound psychological facts, which he expresses in such a way that, harmonising with some piece of experience, they win acceptance as primary truths, and cause us to complain that our best thoughts have been already plagiarised. It is not to such heights as these that Rudyard Kipling soars. He is frankly a

minor poet, but possesses the attribute rare amongst the species of knowing the limits of his own genius. This distinction he shares in common with Austin Dobson, and, like the latter, he wields his weapons with the skill of the fencer who knows his own peculiar bent; though Kipling's is the direct thrust of the bayonet, Dobson's the delicate play of the foil. It would be wrong, however, to infer that the work of the former is lacking in polished wit or grace. His first volume of poetry proved his capacity for caustic *vers de société*, though to this style he has not since returned.

There are three main themes treated in "The Seven Seas"—the military life of the "Barrack Room Ballads," to which some additions are here made, the spirit of adventure, and the poetry of science and invention. The character of the additions to the military pictures is such as to suggest that the vein is nearly worked out. With the exception of perhaps three, there is a lack of conviction about the latest specimens of the author's skill in this kind, and a noticeable absence of the spirit and fire which marked the famous earlier volume. Some of them illustrate the darker side of the usually gentle and sympathetic cynicism that is so attractive in other poems. Was it worth while to rake up the painful tale of the regiment that broke? or to revel in the gruesome forebodings of the "Birds of Prey March?" "The Ladies" might easily be a versified summary of the chief conquests of any *habitué* of a London bar. That it is true to the life one cannot doubt, but of what interest are the moralisings of a fifth-rate Don Juan? We can only wonder at the lack of taste which permitted its inclusion amongst so much superior stuff. How capable of lofty treatment one single incident of this nature may be the writer has shown in the powerful little poem, "Mary, Pity Women." Yet, as a whole, the series of soldier songs illustrate better than any other portion of Kipling's works the synthetic faculty by which he is enabled to grasp the important features of a life which to the outside observer is mere routine, and to express the hidden feelings of a class which is by nature and training dumb to the world at large. Herein, too, is evident no small degree of the idealism which elevates a common subject and makes it more suitable for the purposes of art. That such idealism should be combined with the dialect of the barrack room without producing even a suspicion of artificiality is evidence of the consummate mastery of material to which reference has already been made.

Perhaps not since the age of good Queen Bess has the world seen such a manifestation of the spirit of adventure, colonisation, and conquest, as that which has marked the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In the sixteenth century—and so to-day—one result of the outburst has been to produce conflict with other nations, and an increase in national spirit and patriotism, not to say jingoism. As the title suggests, it is as the mouthpiece chiefly of this phase of our development that Kipling appears again before the public, and on this section of his poems he has spent his best work. The pride of empire, the sense of fraternity between all England's scattered sons, the deep mystery of the sea, British endurance and courage wherever work or fighting is needed, all find expression here. Jingoism is conspicuously but not unnaturally absent. The author's sympathy is with the worker, the private of the line, the "gentleman ranker," not with the financiers who exploit the energy of these and the hot-headed impulses of the reader of newspaper head-lines. We cannot forbear quoting some of the finer verses from the "Song of the English." The landward view of a lighthouse inspires this beautiful line:

> "The flash that wheeling inward wakes his sleeping wife to prayer."

Another fine couplet runs thus:

> "Go to your work and be strong, halting not in your ways,
> Baulking the end half won for an instant dole of praise."

There is great power in the description of the fight in the "Rhyme of the Three Sealers":

> "For one cried out on the name of God, and one to have him cease,
> And the questing volley found them both and bade them hold their peace;
> And one called out on a heathen joss, and one on the Virgin's Name,
> And the schooling bullet leaped across, and shewed them whence they came."

"The Lost Legion," and "The Sea-Wife," are effective pieces of work, and "The Three-Decker" is an able plea on behalf of the old-fashioned novel of the time before the great social question was invented.

In nothing that the author has written, not even in the best of his inimitable stories, has he developed more fully or effectively the sardonic humour, the wild, almost ribald scorn of things combined with the *lacrimae rerum* which runs through some of his happiest efforts, than in the "Song of the Banjo":

> "I'm the Prophet of the Utterly Absurd,
> Of the Patently Impossible and Vain."
>
> . . . .
>
> "Vulgar tunes that bring the laugh that brings the groan,
> I can rip your very heart strings out with those."
>
> . . . .
>
> "My bray ye may not alter nor mistake,
> When I stand to jeer the fatted Soul of Things,
> But the Song of Lost Endeavour that I make,
> Is it hidden in the twanging of the strings?"

The whole poem is a startling production which might possibly have some interest for believers in the theories of Max Nordau. For it must be admitted that the prophet of degeneration might have found illustrations for his purpose here.

There are numerous examples in other poems of the author's besetting faults, which his success has apparently developed. In the "Anchor Song" and the "Merchantmen" especially he has indulged to the full his weakness for the piling up of incomprehensible details, outlandish adjectives, abstruse technical terms and travellers' slang. A phrase here and there may be passed over without inflicting any serious wound on the reader's self-esteem; but when the whole framework of a poem is built up of such jargon the most mild-mannered man begins to suspect that his ignorance is being held up to derision by a very superior travelled person, and resents it accordingly. No doubt it is a delightful sensation to "tally on the fall," or to see a ship "snorting under bonnets;" and something may be

condoned to the pride of a man who has "ratched beyond the Crossets." Yet with a full sense of the importance for poetical purposes of the intension of words it is difficult to comprehend what gain can result from the use of terms which are exclusively technical and for the reading world devoid of both intension and extension.

In the attempt to treat poetically such apparently commonplace themes as steam and electricity Kipling has broken practically new ground. "McAndrews' Hymn," undoubtedly the gem of the volume, is conceived in a truly poetic spirit, and is by far the best thing of the kind that we have seen. Students of Tennyson will remember numerous instances of the absorption of scientific discovery into the matter of poetry by the late laureate's consummate command of language, and Kipling has successfully adopted the implied suggestion in the poem referred to. The same purpose is evident in "The Miracles" and in "The King," the latter of which is a definite claim on behalf of King Romance to continued empire in an age of steam engines.

> "Robed, crowned, and throned, he wove his spell
> Where heart-blood beat or hearth-smoke curled,
> With unconsidered miracle,
> Hedged in a backward-gazing world.
> Then taught his chosen bard to say:
> 'Our King was with us yesterday.'"

This vein would repay the working, for in this the author has obtained richer results than perhaps in anything he has written of late, while the products of the old vein show at times a distinct falling-off from the standard of the last volume. We commend to him the suggestion in the engineer's prayer:

> "Lord, send a man like Robbie Burns to sing the Song o' Steam."

A CIVILIAN'S EXPERIENCES.

Leaves from a Diary in Lower Bengal. By C. S. (retired). With Maps and Illustrations from Sketches by the Author, including Etchings by ROBERT FARREN. (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd. 1896.)

This is a very handsome volume in every material respect. The page is spacious, the type is large and round, and the numerous illustrations are really illustrative, as well as carefully executed. The letter-press is written with ease and verve, and strongly dashed with humour. It is pervaded by a healthy vitality. There is no puling over India as a land of regrets, a place of exile; no weak lamentations for the loss of the early comforts of home. There is no escaping the monotony of official routine in Bengal, any more than elsewhere; but the writer frankly recognises that a man with a sound constitution and a wholesome interest in outdoor occupations, with temperate and prudent conduct may be at least as well in health as a man living in a great city in England, and that the duties and responsibilities of an Indian career are not only full of interest but richly capable of satisfying an honourable ambition. The volume consists of extracts from an old Diary written originally for perusal by friends at home. It covers the first eight years of the author's Indian service, namely, 1862-70.

The value and the charm of the book lie in its simple reality. The author tells plainly how things went on from time to time, what he saw and what he did, so that his experiences may be taken as a really valuable illustration of the period in question within the limits stated. The voyage out to Calcutta is described in strong outline, but there is nothing to detain us over it, except indeed the solution of a serious social difficulty by the captain of the steamer from Suez. A party of ladies occupying one cabin disputed warmly the first use of the common wash-stand. The captain, on appeal, decided that on the principle of seniority the *eldest* ought to have first wash. "Next morning the stewardess reported that none of the ladies would get up!" Arrived at Calcutta, the author would go tiger-shooting, and thus fell in with some native gentlemen, whose bearing is worth commemoration, not but that it is a matter of course, only it illustrates a lesson that still needs to be impressed on some white-skinned people:

> "Europeans generally are not much in sympathy with Bengali Baboos, but I am bound to say that these gentlemen treated me, a stranger, with the greatest kindness and attention. They entertained me with true hospitality—gave me the best they had, and often apologised for being able to offer nothing better They would not hear of taking payment for anything, and behaved throughout as courteous and considerate hosts. Their advent at this particular time seemed almost providential, and, thanks to them, what might have been a wildgoose chase, beginning and ending at Mutlah, became a novel and enjoyable excursion."

Here is a just and honourable recognition that might usefully be pondered by many an Anglo-Indian and many a home-keeping Englishman. Our author describes very fully the house-keeping and general social arrangements in very interesting and instructive detail in various parts of Bengal, but these must be followed in the volume itself. Incidentally he sketches a hook-swinging scene, now a thing of the past—that is to say, in its thorough-going execution. Let us see him in the beginnings of active business:

> "My official duties were not heavy at first, nor my magisterial powers large, being limited to the infliction of a month's imprisonment, and fine up to Rs. 50. The first time I held cutcherry, I understood little or nothing of what was going on. One of the magistrate's clerks who knew English acted as interpreter; when he was called away, it was like groping in the dark. My courthouse was not an imposing edifice; the main building being too small to accommodate the whole staff, some of the subordinate magistrates, myself included, occupied small detached bamboo huts, which in this part of the country are used to supplement the masonry buildings where these do not suffice. The furniture comprised a table and chair for the presiding officer, a couple of benches for the *amlah* or clerks of the court, and wooden platforms called *takhtaposhes* for apprentices or copyists, who copy the orders and other written proceedings which go to make up the record of a case. A police constable was told off to my court to have charge of the prisoners, and one or two *mukhtars* (native attorneys who plead in minor cases) attended in the interests of their clients. The cases were of the most petty description—trifling assault, verbal abuse, and such like."

Elementary difficulties, however, are soon got over, and the author gradually settles into businesslike form, though truly we hear little of the actual experience of regular duties. At the same time, we get occasional glimpses into the general working of

the service. The larger interests of the book lie out of doors. The various social amusements are fully treated, but the main attention centres in *shikár* expeditions. The excitements of pig-sticking are outdone only by the intenser agitations of tiger-potting. There is one especially stirring scene, where the author is clawed by a "Stripes," and narrowly escapes to tell the tale. The incidental descriptions of scenery are always welcome, and with these the sketches of the natives and their ways, their systems of cultivation, and their industrial capacities and incapacities. Perhaps the more picturesque portions of description are incidental to trips by river. Social incidents and situations are commemorated in two or three considerable attempts at humorous versification. Here and there, places and men of the Mutiny turn up afresh. The author is scantly ceremonious in his trenchant references to the difficult beginnings of local self-government. He also bestows some caustic criticism, not altogether and always undeserved, we suspect, on Bengali students and *ummedwárs* (expectants)—"a set of Oriental Micawbers, waiting for something to turn up, and in the meantime not ashamed to sponge on their more fortunate relations," and so forth. Still, we must make large allowances for a transition period in such a state of things as is generated by the contact of modern England with traditional India. Putting aside such hasty criticisms as all but inevitable, we can yet accept this Diary as an amusing, honest, and instructive representation of sides of Anglo-Indian life that must always possess interest and attraction for the many friends of Anglo-Indians at home, and for general readers as well.

THE STORY OF THE SEA.

The Story of the Sea. Edited by Q., assisted by Professor J. K. LAUGHTON, Commander C. N. ROBINSON, R.N., HERBERT W. WILSON, HERBERT RUSSELL, etc., etc. Illustrated. Vol. II. (Cassell and Co. 1896.)

A year ago we noticed the first volume of this fascinating and handsome work which has now reached an end. Its purpose is, as the editor put it, to give a lively sketch of the sea, its nature and its mysteries, and man's high performances upon it. Mr. Quiller-Couch, and his expert assistants, are entitled to claim that their purpose has been fulfilled with brilliant and conspicuous success. It would not be easy to imagine a compilation, dealing with so large and varied a subject, which should unite with so much skill the requisites of sound information and lively narrative. The second volume, like the first, is distinctly miscellaneous both in matter and in arrangement. One passes from a chapter on "the greyhounds of the ocean" to "the story of the Argonauts," or from a scientific dissertation upon "winds and currents" to a description of the great expedition against Syracuse. But there is a subtle method in this "go as you please" compilation. The reader, whether young or less young, is never bored by deliberate instruction. The charm of the story holds him, as the writers turn hither and thither, and the information comes by the way. The editor, who is evidently an enthusiast, is to be congratulated upon the art with which he has collected and disposed the *disjecta membra*.

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